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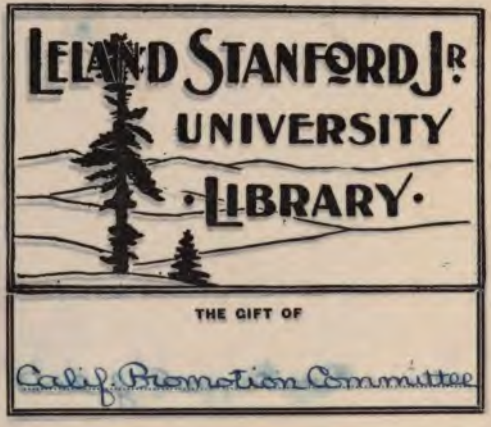
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DEDICATION

THAT THOSE WHO LIVE IN
CALIFORNIA MAY APPRECIATE
THEIR STATE THE MORE—THAT
THOSE WHO LIVE ELSEWHERE
MAY KNOW ITS FUTURE AND ITS
PRESENT—THAT ALL MAY BE
INSPIRED BY THE PATRIOT-
ISM OF THESE PAGES,
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69934

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S ITINERARY IN CALIFORNIA

Thursday, May Seventh

Barstow, 8:20 to 8:30 a. m.
Redlands, 12:00 noon to 3:00 p. m.
San Bernardino, 3:40 to 5:40 p. m.
Riverside, 6:00 to 6:05 p. m.
Casa Blanca, 6:15 p. m.

Friday, May Eighth

Riverside, 8:00 a. m.
Claremont, 9:00 to 9:30 a. m.
Pasadena, 10:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m.
Los Angeles, 1:00 p. m.

Saturday, May Ninth

Left Los Angeles, 6:00 a. m.
Ventura, 9:00 to 10:00 a. m.
Santa Barbara, 11:00 a. m. to 2:00 p. m.
Paso Robles *en route.*
San Luis Obispo, 5:30 to 6:30 p. m.

Sunday, May Tenth

Del Monte, 12:01 a. m.

Monday, May Eleventh

Left Del Monte, 8:00 a. m.
Pajaro, 8:50 to 9:00 a. m.
Santa Cruz, 9:55 a. m. to 12:50 p. m.
San Jose, 3:15 p. m.

Tuesday, May Twelfth

Left San Jose, 8:30 a. m.
Palo Alto, 9:00 a. m. to 12:00 noon.
Burlingame, 12:25 to 1:25 p. m.
San Francisco, 2:15 p. m. In San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Vallejo and Mare Island Navy Yard, until midnight, Thursday, May Fourteenth.

Friday, May Fifteenth to Monday, May Eighteenth

Yosemite Valley.

Tuesday, May Nineteenth

Reno, 7:30 to 7:40 a. m.
Carson, 8:55 to 9:55 a. m.
Reno, 11:10 a. m. to 12:10 p. m.
Sacramento, 6:45 p. m.

Wednesday, May Twentieth

Left Sacramento, 12:30 a. m.
Redding, 8:30 to 8:40 a. m.
Dunsmuir *en route.*
Sisson, 1:15 to 1:20 p. m.
Montague *en route.*

DRIVING THROUGH SMILEY HEIGHTS, AT REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA, MAY 7, 1903.

REMARKS AT BARSTOW, CALIFORNIA

MAY 7, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

This is the first time I have ever been to California, and I cannot say to you how much I have looked forward to making the trip. I can tell you now with absolute certainty that I will have enjoyed it to the full when I get through.

I have felt that the events of the last five or six years have been steadily hastening the day when the Pacific will loom in the world's commerce as the Atlantic now looms, and I have wished greatly to see these marvelous communities growing up on the Pacific Slope. There are plenty of things that to you seem matters of course, that I have read about and know about from reading, and yet when I see them they strike me as very wonderful—the way the railroads have been thrust across the deserts, until now we come to the border of that wonderful flower land, the wonderful land of your State.

One thing that strikes me more than anything else as I go through the country—as I said I have never been on the Pacific Slope; the Rocky Mountain States and the States of the great plains I know quite as well as I know the Eastern seaboard; I have worked with the men, played with them, fought with them; I know them all through—the thing that strikes me most as I go through this country and meet the men and women of the country, is the essential unity of all Americans. Down at bottom we are the same people all through. (Applause.) That is not merely a unity of section, it is a unity of class. For my good fortune I have been thrown into intimate relationship, into intimate personal friendship, with many men of many different

occupations, and my faith is firm that we shall come unscathed out of all our difficulties here in America, because I think that the average American is a decent fellow, and that the prime thing in getting him to get on well with the other average American is to have each remember that the other is a decent fellow, and try to look at the problems a little from the other's standpoint. (Applause.)

I am speaking here to the men who have done their part in the tremendous development of this country,—railroad men, the ranchers, the people who have built up this country. Something can be done by law to help in such development, something can be done by the administration of the law; but in the last analysis we have to rely upon the average citizenship of the country to work out the salvation of the nation. (Applause.) Back of the law stands the man; just exactly as in battle it is the man behind the gun that counts most, even more than the gun. (Applause.) So it is the man and woman, it is the average type of manhood and womanhood, that makes the State great in the end. In the individual nothing can take the place of his own qualities; in the community nothing can take the place of the qualities of the average citizen. The law can do something, but the law never yet made a fool wise or a coward brave or a weakling strong. The law can endeavor to secure a fair show for every man so far as it is in the wit of man to secure such a fair show, but it must then remain for the man himself to show the stuff there is in him; and if the stuff is not in him, you cannot get it out of him. (Applause.)

I believe in the future of this country because I believe in the men and women whom we are developing in the country. I am more glad than I can say for being in California. I thank you for coming out here to greet me. I wish you well with all my heart for the future. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT VICTORVILLE, CALIFORNIA

MAY 7, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I want to say what a pleasure it is to see you. I am enjoying so much coming into California. I have looked forward toward visiting your wonderful and beautiful State for years, and I am so glad of having the chance of being here. I welcome you all. I am glad to see the men, the women, and especially the children, for I believe in your stock and I am glad it is being kept up. (Cheers and applause.)

Water & Forests.

ADDRESS AT REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA

MAY 7, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. MAYOR, MR. GOVERNOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-AMERICANS, MEN AND WOMEN OF CALIFORNIA:

I am glad indeed to have the chance to visit this wonderful and beautiful State. And yet, first, let me tell you, my fellow-citizens, I did not need to come here to be one of you and devoted to your interests. I know California. I know what her sons and daughters are and what they have done, for if I did not I would augur myself but a poor American. Rarely have I enjoyed a day more than this. I waked up coming through the Mojave Desert, and all that desert needs is water, and I believe you are going to get it. Then we came down into this wonderful garden spot, and though I had been told all about it, told about the fruits and the flowers, told of the wonderful fertility and thought I knew about it, it was not possible in advance to realize all the fertility, all the beauty, that I was to see. Indeed I congratulate myself on having had the chance to visit you. (Applause.)

Coming today over the mountain range, coming down here, seeing what you have done, makes me realize more and more how much this whole country should lay stress on what can be done by the wise use of water, and, therefore, the wise use of the forests on the mountains. (Applause.) When I come to California I can sit at the feet of Gamaliel and learn about forestry and water. I do not have to preach it. All I can do is to ask you to go ahead and follow your own best practice. The people of our country have grown to realize and are more and more in practice showing that they realize how indispensable it is to preserve the great forests on the mountains and to use aright the water supply that those forests conserve. This whole country

At Redlands, California.

here in Southern California shows what can be done by irrigation, what can be done by settlers foresighted enough to use the resources in such way as to perpetuate and better, not exhaust, them. We have passed the time when we could afford to let any man skin the country and leave it. (Applause.) Forestry, irrigation, all the efforts of the nation and the State governments, all the efforts of individuals and of local associations are to be bent to the object of building up the interests of the home-maker. The man we want to favor is the man who comes to live, and whose interest it is that his children and his children's children shall enjoy to an even greater degree what he has enjoyed himself. He is the man whom we must encourage in every possible way; and it is because he is awake to his true interests that the marvelous progress has been made, largely through forestry, largely through irrigation, here in California and elsewhere in the mighty Western land which forms the major half of this republic. (Applause.) I think our citizens are more and more realizing that they wish to perpetuate the things that are of use and also the things that are of beauty. You in California are preserving your great natural scenery, your great objects of nature, your valleys, your giant trees. You are preserving them because you realize that beauty has its place as well as use, because you wish to make of this State even more than it now is the garden spot of the continent, the garden spot of the world. (Applause.) Here in Southern California I wish to congratulate you upon the way in which your citizens have built up these new cities, of which I speak in well nigh the newest. These new cities and this new country in fashion illustrate the efforts of the pioneer, of the early settler, of the man who first turns to account virgin soil, and yet have been fortunate enough to escape the roughness, the rawness, that too often necessarily accompanies such early settlement. Already in what you have done, you people of this new land, you have been fortunate to set examples which it would be well for the cities and the country districts of older lands to follow. (Applause.) Because, fundamentally, men and

women whom I am addressing, we must remember that much though climate and soil can do, it is man himself who does most. I congratulate you upon your astounding material prosperity. I congratulate you upon your fruit farms, your orchards, your ranches, upon your cities, upon your industrial and agricultural development, but above all I congratulate you on the quality of your citizenship. (Applause.) I am glad to meet you and to be greeted by you. I know the rest of you will not grudge my saying that among all of you who have greeted me, I prize most the presence of the men who fought in the great war. (Applause.) Two years ago you came here to welcome your comrade, my chief and predecessor in office, President McKinley. (Applause.) He had fought in the war in which you fought. He had done his part in the work that you did, the work which, if left undone, would have meant that today we had neither country nor President. (Applause.) Now we of the younger generation are bound in honor and in good faith to carry on the work that he and you did in war, the work that he did in peace.

The lessons you taught were not lessons of war only, they are lessons to be applied in peace just as much. In the war it was necessary to have training; it was necessary to have arms, but the thing that was fundamental was to have men. (Applause.) And you won because you had in you the quality which drove you forward to victory. You won because in the iron times you showed that you could recognize each man for his naked worth as a man. (Applause.) You fought for liberty under the law, through the law—not license—not any spirit that rises above the law; the self-governing liberty of self-governing, self-restraining freemen who know that anarchic violence, that disorder of any kind, is the hand-maiden of tyranny, the foe of freedom. (Applause.)

I greet you first, you on whose conduct we must model ours, and next I greet the future. I am very glad, my fellow-citizens, that you do so well with fruits, crops, and all of that, but I am even more pleased that you do as well with children. (Ap-

plause.) To the children I have got but one word to say, and that applies just as well to the grown-up people, too. I believe in play and I believe in work. Play hard while you play, and when you work do not play at all. (Applause.) That is common sense for all of us.

I wish to express my thanks to the men of the National Guard, some of whom wear medals which show that they fought in the same war in which I did. (Applause.) Ours was a little war, but we hope that we showed the desire at least not to fall too far short of the standard set by you of the great war. (Applause.) I must thank especially the gentleman in the not unfamiliar uniform whom I see before me. (Cheers and applause.)

Now just one word in closing. Do you know what strikes me most as I meet you, the people of Southern California, representing a community which has drawn its numbers from all the civilized peoples of the globe, from all the States of the Union? What strikes me most is that good Americans are good Americans from one end of the Union to the other. (Applause.) I come to speak to you, and I appeal to you for the same ideals and in the name of the same great principles and the same great men who illustrate those principles as I should speak on the Atlantic seaboard. You, the men of the West, the men preeminently American, the men and women who illustrate in their lives exactly those characteristics which we are proudest to consider as typical of our country, I greet you because I am at home with you. (Applause.) Because there is no longer any need of saying that the worst American, the genuine traitor to the country, is the man who would inflame either section against section, or class against class. (Cries of "Good!" Applause.)

Good laws can do much. Good administration of the laws can do much. We must have both. (Applause.) Law and the honest enforcement and administration of the law can do much, but most of all must be done by the man himself. Nothing can take the place of the exercise of the man's own individual qualities. Just exactly as in battle it is the man behind the gun

who counts most, and just exactly as it is true that the change in tactics does not mean any change in the fundamental qualities necessary to make the soldier, so it is true of good citizenship. You and I, you who went to the Philippines, we who fought in the smaller war, we had a small caliber, high-power gun if we were lucky. You did not have it at first in the Philippines, I understand. We had new weapons, we had new tactics, but we did well exactly in proportion as we had the spirit that made you do well from '61 to '65. (Applause.) Weapons change and tactics change, but the same kind of men who did well in Cæsar's tenth legion would have done well following Grant or Lee in the days before Appomattox. No weapon, no system of tactics, could take the place of the fighting edge in the man, of the courage, resolution, power of individual initiative, readiness to obey and to obey on the instant, power to act by one's self and yet to act in combination with one's fellows. So now it is in citizenship. Something can be done by law, but no law that the wit of man can devise can make out of a man who has not got the spirit of decency and clean living in him a decent man. (Applause.) No law that the wit of man can devise will ever make the weakling, the man who does not know how to handle himself, able to hold his own in competition with his fellows. Law can and must secure justice, justice alike to the rich and to the poor, to the man in the country, and the man in the town, to prevent any one from wronging his fellows, and to safeguard him against wrong in return, but after the law has done that it yet remains true, as it will remain true in the future, as it has remained true since history dawned, that the prime factor in working out any man's success must be the sum of that man's own individual qualities. (Applause.) We need strong bodies. More than that we need strong minds, and finally we need what counts for more than body, for more than mind—character—character, into which many elements enter, but three above all. In the first place, morality, decency, clean living, the faculty of treating fairly those round about, the qualities that make a man a decent husband, a

decent father, a good neighbor, a good man to deal with or to work beside; the quality that makes a man a good citizen of the State, careful to wrong no one; we need that first as the foundation, and if we have not got that no amount of strength or courage or ability can take its place. No matter how able a man is, how good a soldier naturally, if the man were a traitor then the abler he was the more dangerous he was to the regiment, to the army, to the nation. It is so in business, in politics, in every relation of life. The abler a man is, if he is a corrupt politician, an unscrupulous business man, a demagogic agitator who seeks to set one portion of his fellow men against the other, his ability makes him but by so much more a curse to the community at large. In character we must have virtue, morality, decency, square dealing as the foundation; and it is not enough. It is only the foundation. In war you needed to have the man decent, patriotic, but no matter how patriotic he was if he ran away he was no good. So it is in citizenship; the virtue that stays at home in its own parlor and bemoans the wickedness of the outside world is of scant use to the community. (Applause.) We are a vigorous masterful people, and the man who is to do good work in our country must not only be a good man, but also emphatically a man. We must have the qualities of courage, of hardihood, of power to hold one's own in the hurly-burly of actual life. We must have the manhood that shows on fought fields and that shows in the work of the business world and in the struggles of civic life. We must have manliness, courage, strength, resolution, joined to decency and morality, or we shall make but poor work of it. Finally those two qualities by themselves are not enough. In addition to decency, and courage, we must have the saving grace of common sense. We all of us have known decent and valiant fools who have meant so well that it made it all the more pathetic that the effect of their actions was so ill.

Men and women of California, I believe in you, I believe in your future, because I think that the average citizenship of this State has in it just exactly the qualities of which I have spoken.

I believe in the future of this nation because I think that the average citizenship of the nation also is based on those three qualities, the quality of decency, the quality of courage, and the saving grace of common sense. I greet you today. I am glad to be here in your beautiful country. I am glad to see you, men and women of California. I wish you well and I firmly believe that your mighty future will make your past, great though your past is, seem small by comparison. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS TO THE SCHOOL CHILDREN SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 7, 1903

CHILDREN:

I wish to say how glad I am to see you. I wish to congratulate the men and women of this city upon the children. You seem to be all right in quality and in quantity. (Applause.)

I wish to say a word of special acknowledgment to the teachers. There is no body of men and women in the country to whom more is owing than to that body of men and women upon whose efforts so much of the cleanliness and efficiency of our government twenty years hence depends; because on their training largely depends the kind of citizenship of the next generation. There is no duty as important as the duty of taking care that the boys and girls are so trained as to make the highest type of men and women in the future. It is a duty that cannot be shirked by the home. The fathers and mothers must remember that it is the duty that comes before everything else after the getting of mere subsistence. The first duty after the duty of self-support is the training of the children as they should be trained. That comes upon the fathers and mothers. They cannot put it off entirely upon the teachers; but much depends upon the teachers also, and the fact that they have done and are doing their duty so well entitles them in a peculiar degree to the gratitude of all Americans who understand the prime needs of the republic. I am glad to see you, I believe in you, and I thank you. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 7, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. GOVERNOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It gives me the utmost pleasure to be presented to those who are among the best on earth because they are Americans. (Applause.) It is half a century since the early pioneers founded this place, and while time goes fast in America anywhere, it has gone fastest here on the Pacific Slope, and in the regions of the Rocky Mountains directly to the eastward. If you live in the presence of miracles you gradually get accustomed to them. (Applause.) So it is difficult for any of us, and it is especially difficult for those who have themselves been doing the things, to realize the absolute wonder of the things that have been done. California and the region round about have in the past fifty or sixty years traversed the distance that separates the founders of the civilization of Mesopotamia and Egypt from those who enjoy the civilization of today. They have gone further than that. They have seen this country change from a wilderness into one of the most highly civilized regions of the world's surface. They have seen cities, farms, ranches, railroads grow up and transform the very face of nature. The changes have been so stupendous that in our eyes they have become commonplace. We fail to realize their immense, their tremendous importance. We fail entirely to realize what they mean. Only the older among you can remember the pioneer days, the early pioneer days, and yet today I have spoken to man after man yet in his prime who, when he first came to this country, warred against wild man and wild nature in the way in which that warfare was waged in the prehistoric days of the Old World. We have spanned in the single life—in less than the life of any man who reaches the age limit prescribed by the psalmist—in less than that time we have gone over the

REPLANTING ORIGINAL NAVEL ORANGE TREE, RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA, MAY 7, 1903.

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whole space from savagery to barbarism, to semi-civilization, to the civilization that stands two thousand years ahead of that of Rome and Greece in the days of their prime. (Applause.)

The old pioneer days have gone, but if we are to prove ourselves worthy sons of our sires we cannot afford to let the old pioneer virtues lapse. There is just the same need now that there was in '49 for the qualities that marked a mighty and masterful people. East and West we now face substantially the same problems. No people can advance as far and as fast as we have advanced, no people can make such progress as we have made and expect to escape the penalties that go with such speed and progress. The growth and complexity of our civilization, the intensity of the movement of modern life, have meant that with the benefits have come certain disadvantages and certain perils. A great industrial civilization cannot be built up without a certain dislocation and certain disarrangement of the old conditions, and therefore the springing up of new problems. The problems are new, but the qualities needed to solve them are as old as history itself, and we shall solve them aright only on condition that we bring to the solution the same qualities of head and heart that have been brought to the solution of similar problems by every race that has ever conquered for itself a space in the annals of time. It is not possible for any man to say exactly what a given community of our people is to do with a given problem at the moment, unless he is thoroughly familiar with all the conditions attendant thereon, but he can lay down certain general rules of conduct with the absolute certainty that our people have to proceed in accordance with them, if they are to do aright their work in the State and the nation.

Wherever I have been in the West I see men who wear the button which shows that in the times that tried men's souls they proved their truth by their endeavor; that they belonged to those who in the years from '61 to '65 dared all to see that the nation did not flinch from its destiny; and great though the praise is that is due to them, an even greater praise in my mind belongs to

the women of their generation who sent them out to battle, who stayed at home with the breadwinner absent, who had to suffer not only fear of the fate that might befall father, husband, son, lover or brother, but who had to get on as best they could in their own household without the help of the arm on which they had been accustomed to rely. (Applause.) You men and women of that time proved yourselves worthy to be freemen by displaying the old heroic qualities that had marked masterful men and womanly women from the days when the world began. You won because you showed the spirit that the men of '76 showed under Washington, Wayne and Greene. You won by showing the traits of character that must be shown in any crisis by men who are to meet that crisis—perfectly ordinary traits.

You do not win in a big fight by any patent device. There is not any way by which you can turn your hand and conquer in a time of great trial. You have got to conquer as your father and grandfather conquered before you. You have got to conquer as strong men have conquered in every struggle of history, and draw on whatever fund of courage, of resolution, of hardihood, of iron will that you have at your command, and you can conquer only if you draw on just those qualities. Another thing which you will remember very well, from '61 to '65, what my comrades here, the men who went into the great war and the men who went into the Spanish War or went to the Philippines will remember also, that there was a certain proportion of men who joined your ranks who for one reason or another fell by the wayside. There were different reasons—some for whom one simply felt an entirely respectful pity, who lacked the stamina to be able to stand the hard work, and it was mighty hard work. In the lesser war there was trouble that there was not in the big war, for there was not enough to go around. (Applause.) Among others the man would come around who wanted to be a hero right off, but did not want to do the other work of the moment. I recollect perfectly in my regiment, a young fellow joined, and on the second day he came to me and said: "Colonel, I came down here to fight for my

country, and they are treating me like a serf, and making me dig kitchen sinks." His Captain, who was a large man from New Mexico, explained to him that he would go right on and dig kitchen sinks; that that was what his business was at the moment, and that if he dug them well we would see to the hero business later. The man who did well in the army in those days was, as a rule, the man who did not wait to do well until something big occurred, but who did his duty just as his duty came, during the long marches, during the weary months of waiting in camp, did his duty just exactly as in the battle. He was the man on whom you relied, whom you trusted, whom you wanted to have with you in your troop, as your bunky, whatever it was, he was the man you wanted around. It is just exactly the same with citizenship. It was just exactly the same in the pioneer days. The pioneers, men and women, faced much such difficulty as the men of the Grand Army, and for you, the men of that generation, and your wives, there was the same hardship, the same endurance of grinding toil, the same years of effort that too often seemed fruitless, the same iron will, and the same ultimate triumph, and if we are to succeed we must show the same qualities that the men of the Grand Army showed, that the pioneers showed, that all men and all women have showed who were fit to be fathers and mothers in a vigorous State. I would plead with my countrymen to show not any special brilliancy, or special genius, but the ordinary humdrum commonplace qualities which in the aggregate spell success for the nation, and spell success for the individual. Remember that the chance to do the great heroic work may or may not come. If it does not come, then all that there can be to our credit is the faithful performance of every-day duty. That is all that most of us throughout our lives have the chance to do, and it is enough, because it is the beginning to do, because it means most for the nation when done, and if the time for the showing of heroism does come you may guarantee that those who show it are most likely to be the people who have done their duty in average times as the occasion for doing the duty arose.

My friends, I am very glad to see you. I am very glad to be in California. Today is the first time I ever was in your wonderful and beautiful State. I do not know if this is a fair sample, but if it is California is certainly to be congratulated all through. (Applause.) In saying good-by I wish to express the pleasure it has given me to see you. I believe in the State; I believe in what the State produces, but I believe most of all in the men and women of the State. It is a good thing to have your soil and your climate, your great industrial possibilities; it is a better thing to have the type of citizenship which California has produced. (Applause.) I congratulate you; I congratulate the American people, of whom you are part. I wish you well with all my heart, and I believe that your future will be infinitely greater even than the mighty present, even than your past has warranted us in believing. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA

MAY 7, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I have enjoyed to the full getting into your beautiful State. I had read about what I should expect here in Southern California, but I had formed no idea of the fertility of your soil, the beauty of your scenery, or the wonderful manner in which the full advantage of that soil had been taken by man. Here I am in the pioneer community of irrigated fruit growing in California. In many other parts of the country I have had to preach irrigation. Here you practice it (applause), and all I have to say here is that I earnestly wish that I could have many another community learn from you how you have handled your business. Not only has it been most useful, but it is astonishing to see how with the use you have combined beauty. You have made of this city and its surroundings a veritable little paradise.

It has been delightful to see you. Today has been my first day in California. I need hardly say that I have enjoyed it to the full. I am glad to be welcomed by all of you, but most of all by the men of the Grand Army, and after them by my own comrades of the National Guard, and I have been particularly pleased to pass between the rows of school children. I like your stock and I am glad it is not dying out. (Applause.)

I shall not try this evening to do more than say to you a word of thanks for your greeting to me. I admire your country, but I admire most of all the men and women of the country. It is a good thing to grow citrus fruits, but it is even a better thing to have the right kind of citizenship. I think you have been able to combine the very extraordinary material prosperity with that

form of the higher life which must be built upon material prosperity if it is to amount to what it should in the long run.

I am glad to have seen you. I thank you for coming here to greet me. I wish you well at all times and in every way, and I bid you good luck and good night. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA (POMONA COLLEGE)

MAY 8, 1903

MR. PRESIDENT, MEN AND WOMEN:

Even in a distinctly college and school gathering I know you will not grudge my saying my first word of greeting to those whom before all others we honor for what they did, to those because of whom we have a country or a President or any method of moving forward along the path of greatness—the men of the Grand Army. (Cheers and applause.) I always envy you men of the Grand Army because you do not have to preach; you practiced. All we have got to do is to try to come up to the standard in peace which you set alike in war and in peace.

It is a very good combination to have the red with the white and blue. You can see over there that Harvard, which is my college, has the red and then comes the blue and white of yours. It did me good to get into a circle of the higher education, and listening to you I thought at once of football. My friends and fellow-citizens, it is such a pleasure to be in this college town today. It is so wonderful a thing to look at the country through which I have come, to realize that the site of this college but a few years ago was exactly as the rest of the plain was, to realize that all of the cultivation that I see, all of the agricultural work that has been done, that has so completely changed the face of the country, has been done within this brief space of time; to see the two things together and realize that you people of California are laying broad and deep by your industry and intelligence the foundation of material prosperity, and that upon that foundation of material prosperity you are erecting the superstructure of intellectual, moral and spiritual well-being, without which the

foundation would never be anything but a base with no building upon it. (Applause.) Of course, we have to have material prosperity as underlying our life. The first thing that the individual man has to do is to pull his own weight, to earn his own way, not to be a drag on the community. And the individual who wants to do a tremendous amount in life, but who will not start by earning his own way in life is not apt to be of much use in the world. He is akin to those admirable creatures who from '61 to '65 were willing to begin as brigadier generals. (Laughter and applause.) We must have first the desire to do well in the day of small things, the day through which all of us must pass, the day which lasts very long with most of us. We must have the desire and the power to do well industrially as a community, as individuals. Before we can do anything with the higher life, before we can have the higher thinking, there must be enough of material comfort to allow for at least plain living. We have got to have that first before we can do the high thinking; but if we are to count in the long run we must have built upon the material prosperity the power and desire to give to our lives other than a merely material side. It would be a poor thing for this State and for this country if, no matter how great our success in business, in agriculture, in all that pertains to the body, we had not provided for our children and those that come after us, to get what is good alike for the soul and the mind. The college and school, any institution of learning, has the two sides—I will say three sides, because now we all recognize the need of the healthy body. There is not much need of educating the body if one pursues certain occupations, but the minute that you come to people who pursue a sedentary life, there is a great need for educating the body. All of us recognize that, if we come to think of it. The man that is the ideal good citizen is the man who in the event of trial, in the event of a call from his country, can respond to that call as you responded in the great war. Then when that call is made you need not only fiery enthusiasm, but you need the body containing that fiery enthusiasm to be suf-

ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, MAY 8, 1903.

ficiently hardy to bear it up, to bear it up on the march, to bear it up in the camp, to bear it into battle; you need a sound body, then you need a sound mind and a trained mind. Of course, there has got to be a capacity for intellectual development there to train, but it is a very great error, and an error into which in the past we as a nation have been prone to fall, to believe that you can trust to that intellectual capacity without training. You cannot. There are wholly exceptional people who will make the greatest success with insufficient training. We cannot judge by those wholly exceptional people. Every college should aim from its intellectual side, from the intellectual standpoint, to add to the sum of productive scholarship of the nation; and I trust that this college, that all colleges like this, in these great new States will add to the purely American type of American scholarship. By purely American I do not mean that you should self-consciously strive in your scholarship to have little points of unimportant difference. I mean that you should turn your attention to the thing that you find naturally at hand, or to which your minds naturally turn, and try in dealing with that to deal in so fresh a way that the net outcome shall be an addition to the world's stock of wisdom and knowledge. Every college should strive to bring to development among the students the capacity to do good original work. That is important. Even more important, however, than anything you can do for your intellect, or anything that can be done for the intellect in the schools, the children whom I see over there, is what can be done for that which counts for more than body, for more than mind, for character; that is what ultimately counts (applause), in shaping the fate of the nation, the destiny of the nation in great crises and in ordinary times. Brilliancy, genius, cleverness of all kinds, do not count for anything like as much as the sturdy traits that we group together under the name of character. (Applause.) In the Civil War it was a good thing to be clever, to be capable, but it was an infinitely better thing to have in you the spirit that declined to accept defeat, and that drove you forward to the ulti-

mate triumph. That was what counted. So in life what counts as the chief factor in the success of a man or a woman is character, and character is partly inborn and partly developed; partly developed by the man's individual will, the woman's individual will, partly developed by the wise training of those above the young man or young woman, the boy or the girl, partly developed by the myriad associations of life, in just such an institution of learning as this. Character has two sides. It is composed of two sets of traits; in the first place the set of traits which we group together under such names as clean living, decency, morality, virtue, the desire and power to deal fairly each by his neighbor, each by his friends, each toward the State; that we have to have as fundamental. The abler, the more powerful any man is the worse he is if he has not got the root of righteousness in him. (Applause.) In any regiment the man who has no loyalty to his fellows, no spirit of devotion to the flag, no desire to see the regiment stand high, to do his duty and see his fellows rise with him, that man, no matter how brave, or how able, is a curse to the regiment, and the sooner you can get him out the better. So in civil life, the abler a man is in business, in politics, in social leadership, the worse he is if he is a scoundrel, whether his scoundrelism takes the form of corruption in business, corruption in politics, or that most sinister of all forms, the effort to rise by inciting class hatred, by inciting lawlessness, by exciting the spirit of evil, the spirit of jealousy and envy as between man and man; and that spirit is equally base, whether it take the form of arrogance on the part of the well-to-do toward those less well-to-do, or of mean and base envy and jealousy on the part of those not well-to-do for those who are better off. (Applause.) It is equally evil against the principles of our government in one case as in the other. And having those traits, we must have others in addition. The virtue that sits at home is of scant use in the world; the virtue that is very good in its own parlor and bemoans the wickedness of those outside does not do much for the benefit of mankind. In the war you had to have patriotism,

but there was but little to be made of the man who was patriotic but who had a tendency to run away. In addition to decency, morality, virtue, clean living, you must have hardihood, resolution, courage, the power to do, the power to dare, the power to endure, and when you have that combination, then you get the proper type of American citizenship. I hail the chance of being met by such a gathering as this, because it is of good augury for the republic to see in this mighty Western State, this typically American State, the things of the body, and the things of the soul equally cared for. I greet you and I thank you. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

MAY 8, 1903

MR. CONGRESSMAN, MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF PASADENA:

I am not going to talk to you very long this morning, because I am too much interested in your community. I want to see all I can see. We speak often of the old pioneer days, and the wonderful feats of our countrymen in those days, but we are living right in the middle of them now, only we are living under pleasanter auspices. To think of the well-nigh incredible fact that all of this that I have been looking at—the city, the development of the country—that it has all occurred within twenty years; that twenty years has separated the sheep pasture from this city, from the fertile irrigated region round about. It is hard to believe it. You have done this great work of building up a new community; you have built up the new community, and yet have preserved all the charm, all the refinement, of the oldest civilizations. It is all so striking that it is difficult for me to know what to comment upon. Yesterday and today I have been traveling through what is literally a garden of the Lord, in sight of the majestic and wonderful scenery of the mountains, going over this plain tilled by the hand of man as you have tilled it, that has blossomed like the rose—blossomed as I never dreamed in my life that the rose could blossom until I came here. Everywhere I have gone I have been greeted by the men who wear the button that shows that they belong to the Grand Army of the Republic, men who fought in that army in many different regiments, from many different States, who have come here from many different States; but who as they fought, all, no matter from what State they came—as they fought all for the federal

flag and the federal Union have come here from their original home to become Californians while remaining Americans. For, oh, my friends, the thing that has impressed me most here in this State of the West, this wonderful commonwealth that has grown up on the Pacific Slope, the thing that has impressed me most is that I am speaking to Americans just as I speak in any other section of the country! We are all pretty much alike, and I believe so unqualifiedly in the future of the country because I believe in the average American, because I believe in the average standard of our citizenship; and I believe that serious though the problems are that now confront us, they will all be solved exactly as you solved the far more serious problems of the early '60's, if we approach them in the same spirit in which you approached yours. You went to war for liberty, union, and the brotherhood of man, and now in peace it rests for us to stand for the indivisible nation, for liberty under and through the law, and for brotherhood in its widest, deepest and truest sense; the brotherhood which recognizes in each man a brother to be helped, which will not suffer wrong and will not inflict it. I wish to see the average American take in reference to his fellows the attitude that I wish to see America take among the nations of the world; the attitude of one who scorns equally to flinch from injustice by the strong and to do injustice to the weak. (Cheers and applause.) You fought for liberty under the law, not liberty in spite of the law. Any man who claims that there can be liberty in spite of and against the law is claiming that anarchy is liberty. (Applause.) From the beginning of time anarchy in all its forms has been the hand-maiden, the harbinger, of despotism and tyranny. We must remember ever that the surest way to overturn republican institutions, the surest way to do away with the essential democratic liberty that we enjoy, is to permit any one under any excuse to put the gratification of his passions over the law. The law, the supreme law of the land, must be obeyed by every man, rich or poor, alike. (Applause.) Ours is a government of equal rights under the law, guaranteeing those

rights to each man so long as he in his turn refrains from wronging his brother. We cannot exist as a republic unless we are true to the fundamental principles of those who founded the republic in '76, and those who perpetuated it in the years from '61 to '65. And if we remain true to the philosophy preached and practiced by Washington and Lincoln we cannot go far wrong. (Applause.)

New problems come up all the time. The tremendous growth of our complex industrialism means that we have to face new conditions, that we enjoy new benefits, and must overcome new difficulties; but the spirit in which we must face them must be the old spirit which has won victory in military strife and under civic conditions since the dim days when history dawned. We can win only if we show the principles that made you win. You did not win by any patent device. You did not win in that way. There is not any patent device for getting the millennium, and any man who says that by following him, that by invoking some specific remedy, all injustice, and all evil, and all suffering will be done away with misleads himself and you. Something can be done by law. Much can be done by honest and fearless administration of the law; but in the long run the prime factor in deciding each man's success must be the sum of the man's individual qualities. We must work in combination. We must work together; but we must remember that no man can do anything with others unless he can do something for himself.

In the army you will remember that there was an occasional man whom nothing under heaven could have turned into a good soldier. (Laughter.) You could train him, arm him, drill him, but on the important day he fell sick. (Laughter.) If he stayed in action you had to watch him so narrowly for fear he got out that he simply distracted your attention from your legitimate business. You have got just the same type of man in civic life. And still each one of us must remember that any one may and will at times slip. There is not a man of us here who does not at times need a helping hand to be stretched out to him, and then

shame upon him who will not stretch out the helping hand to his brother. While we must remember that—remember that every man at times stumbles and must be helped up, if he lies down you cannot carry him. He has got to be willing to walk. You can help him in but one way, the only way in which any man can be helped permanently—help him to help himself. (Applause.)

We can solve aright all the difficult problems that come up because of and through our modern civilization, if we approach them in accordance with the immutable laws of righteousness and of common sense; if we treat each man on his worth as a man; if we demand from him, be he rich or poor, obedience to the law and just dealing toward his fellows; if we demand it and are scrupulously careful in return to do the right we demand; if we remember our duties just as keenly as we remember our rights.

Glad though I am to see all of you, to see the grown-ups, I think I am even gladder to see the children. (Applause.) I was greeted by the high school in a way that made me feel perfectly certain that the nine and eleven had their parts in the curriculum. It is, of course, the merest truism to say that important though it is to develop factories, railroads, farms, commerce, the thing that counts is the development of citizenship; that the one thing that decides ultimately what the nation is, is the character of the average man or woman in the nation. That is what decides the future of the commonwealth; and I am very glad to see the kind of children and to see how many there are. (Applause.) I like your stock and I am glad it is being kept up. (Applause.)

I wish to say a special word of appreciation to those engaged in doing the most vitally necessary work in the community—the school teachers, all engaged in education. They are the people who are deciding, next only to the fathers and mothers themselves, what the future destiny of this country shall be. If we have the most marvelous material development that the world has ever seen, and yet if we train up the next generation

wrong, that material development will be as dust and ashes in the balance; it will count for nothing and less than nothing. It is indispensable as a foundation, and it is worthless unless there is a superstructure upon it. I believe in you. I believe in your future. I believe in our future. I believe in our people, in the American people from one side of the continent to the other, because I believe that the fathers and mothers, the teachers of this generation, are bringing up the children, the boys and the girls, to be in the future such men and women as those who in the iron days of the Civil War left us a heritage of glory and honor forever. (Cheers and applause.)

Arrival at Reviewing Stand, Before City Hall, Los Angeles, California, May 8, 1903.

Navy + Irrigation

REMARKS AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

MAY 8, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I greet you and thank you for the enjoyment you have given me today. I cannot say how I have appreciated being here in your beautiful State and your beautiful city. I do not remember ever seeing quite the parallel to the procession I have just witnessed. (Applause.) I find, men and women of California, that California believes implicitly in two of my own favorite beliefs—the navy and irrigation. (Applause.) The navy, because this country is one of the great leading nations of mankind and is bound to become ever greater as the years roll by, and therefore it must have a navy corresponding to its position. (Applause.) Moreover, we as a nation front two great oceans, and we must have a navy capable of asserting our position alike on the Pacific and the Atlantic. (Applause.) This year we have begun the preparations for the completion of the Isthmian Canal. (Applause.) That is important commercially; it will become even more important should we ever become involved in war, because holding that canal it would be open to our own warships and closed to those of any hostile power. (Applause.) I want a navy, I want to see the American republic with a fighting navy, because I never wish to see us take a position that we cannot maintain. I do not believe in a bluff. I feel about a nation as we all feel about a man; let him not say anything that he cannot make good, and having said it let him make it good. (Applause.) I believe in doing all we can to avoid a quarrel, to avoid trouble; I believe in speaking courteously of all the other peoples of mankind, of scrupulously refraining from wronging them and of seeing that in return they do not wrong us. (Applause.) I

believe in the Monroe doctrine, and I believe in it not as an empty formula of words, but as something we are ready to make good by deeds, and therefore I believe in having an adequate navy with which to make that doctrine good. More than that, here on the Pacific, the greatest of the oceans, we as a nation are growing by leaps and by bounds, our interests increasing with ever accelerating rapidity, and if we are to protect those interests, and to take the position we should take, we must see that the growth of the navy takes place with equal rapidity with the growth of the interests that it is to protect.

When I come to speak of the preservation of the forests, of the preservation of the waters, of the use of the waters from the mountains and of the waters obtained by artesian wells, I only have to appeal to your own knowledge, to your experience. I have been passing through a veritable garden of the earth yesterday and today, here in the southern half of California, and it has been made such by the honesty and wisdom of your people, and by the way in which you have preserved your waters and utilized them. I ask that you simply keep on as you have begun, and that you let the rest of the nation follow suit. We must preserve the forests to preserve the waters, which are themselves preserved by the forests, if we wish to make this country as a whole blossom as you have made this part of California blossom.

In saying good-by to you I want to say that it has been the greatest pleasure to see you, and I am glad, my fellow-Americans, to think that you and I are citizens of the same country. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT OXNARD, CALIFORNIA

MAY 9, 1903

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I wish to say what a great pleasure it has been to be here today, and to see the tangible evidence of the extraordinary industry that has been started here within the last five years. It has been the greatest pleasure. I am not surprised at it, because the last two days in California have taught me not to be surprised at anything. And I am glad to see what has been done by your beet culture, fruit culture of every kind, irrigation, and tilling of the soil. (Applause.)

ADDRESS AT VENTURA, CALIFORNIA

MAY 9, 1903

SENATOR BARD, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MY FELLOW-AMERICANS:

I have enjoyed to the full the time I have spent in your wonderful and beautiful State. Just now I have for the first time in my life seen the greatest of all the oceans. (Applause.) When I come here to California I am not in the West, I am west of the West. It is just California. And yet, oh, my fellow-countrymen, the thing after all that strikes me most is the fact that when I speak to you who dwell beside the Pacific, I, who have come from beside the Atlantic, am speaking to my own people, with the same thoughts and the same ideals. (Applause.) How could it be otherwise in a community where I am greeted first by the men of the Grand Army, by the men who, in the days that tried men's souls, so worked and so fought that today we have one country and one flag; and each of us here, each man and each woman, is walking with head erect because of citizenship in the proudest and greatest republic upon which the sun has ever shone? (Applause.)

This is the third day that I have been traveling among the people who, as the Senator said, are primarily tillers of the soil, whose cities have been built up because of the abundant yield of the soil thus tilled, and I have had the experience that all of us have had who read about things in advance, and yet cannot quite realize them until they see them. I had known from hearsay and from books of the wonderful fertility, the wonderful beauty, of this semi-tropical climate and soil, but I had not realized all that it was until I saw it myself. I am now for the third day passing through a veritable little earthly paradise. I do not wonder that

you look happy. I should be ashamed of you if you did not. I have been, of course, amazed at the yield of your soil, treated as it has been with such wisdom and industry by those who have tilled it, showing especially the amount that can be done by irrigation, the amount that can be done by a combination of scientific and practical agriculture, at your oranges, at the growth of the beet-sugar industries, at all your fruit products, at all your agricultural products. I have also been glad to see such good horses.

I want to say a word of special greeting to my friends over yonder, of the school, who are on horseback. You know the old idea of education was to teach a boy to ride, shoot, and tell the truth. Now we want to teach him something besides that, but he wants to know those three things also. Of course, if he does not tell the truth then nothing can be done with him in any way or shape. You can pardon most anything in a man who will tell the truth, because you know where that man is; you know what he means. If any one lies, if he has the habit of untruthfulness, you cannot deal with him, because there is nothing to depend on. You cannot tell what can be done with him or by his aid. Truth telling is a virtue upon which we should not only insist in the schools and at home, but in business and in politics just as much. (Applause.) The business man or politician who does not tell the truth cheats; and for the cheat we should have no use in any walk of life. (Applause.)

I wish, Senator Bard, speaking from this building, to thank especially the teachers for what they have done. While, of course, each man and each woman must remember that no one can relieve them from their duties in educating their children, yet their work must be supplemented by that of the teachers; and it must be work done not merely for the sake of the wage, but for the sake of doing the work, if the next generation is to be worthy of the generation that fought in the Civil War. (Applause.) I wish to express always the debt of gratitude which all good citizens must feel that we owe to the men and women

who make their special work the training of the children. Our whole future, of course, depends primarily upon how the next generation turns out. All of the agricultural improvements, all of the cultivation of the soil, all of the building up of cities and railroads, all the growth of commerce, all the growth of manufactures, will count for nothing if you have not got the right type of men and women in the future. It is upon that that ultimately the fate of the nation depends.

I was greeted here by the pioneers, the men who first came here. They could come here, our people could come here, and conquer this continent only because of the individual worth of the average citizen, because the average pioneer had in him the quality which made him fit to do battle with, and to overcome, wild man and wild nature. We are here upon the foundations of an old colony which had been in existence well-nigh three quarters of a century before the people of our stock came to California. That old colony represented much for which we have to be grateful, and I am glad to see every effort made to cherish the memories of that time, to keep alive what was best in it, but at the same time we must remember the obvious truth that in the half century that followed the advent of the first people of our stock here, this country progressed a thousand-fold more rapidly than it had in the preceding three-quarters of a century. It thus progressed primarily because of the individual quality of the men who came into it. (Applause.) And it will progress in the future only on condition that we keep up to the highest standard that quality of individual citizenship; and that can be kept up only if the boys and girls of today are so trained that the men and women of the future shall come up to the highest standard demanded in American life. Trained in body? Of course I believe in that emphatically. I wish to see our people hardy, vigorous, strong, able to hold their own in whatever test may arise. I wish to see them able to work and able to play hard. I believe in play, and I like to see people play hard while they play, and when they work I do not want to see them play at all.

That is good sense for the younger people and good sense for the older people. If I had any word of advice (which is a very cheap commodity) to give to you I should say: Get all the enjoyment you legitimately can out of life, but remember that the only sure way of getting in the end no enjoyment out of life, is to start in to make it the end of your existence. The poorest life that any one can live from the standpoint of pleasure is the life that has nothing but pleasure as its end and aim. While I hope that as the chance occurs each man will get all the fun he can out of life, remember that when it comes not merely to looking back upon it, but to living it, the kind of life that is worth living is the kind of life that is embodied in duty worth doing which is well done. (Applause.) I want to see the children brought up with strong bodies. I wish them to have strong minds, and I wish them to have that which counts for more than body, for more than mind—character; character, into which many elements enter, but above all, the three, of honesty, of courage and of common sense. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

MAY 9, 1903

JUDGE, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MEN AND WOMEN OF SANTA BARBARA:

It has been a great and singular pleasure to spend these three days in Southern California. I do not know that I ever before so thoroughly understood the phrase, "A garden of the Lord." That is what you are living in, and I do not wonder that you look happy and contented. I should think but ill of you if you were not. Today, for the first time in my life, I have seen the greatest of the oceans; I have come across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific; from the East to the West, and now west of the West, into California. I am particularly glad to be greeted here at Santa Barbara, by the men who wear afloat the uniform of Uncle Sam. (Applause.) At every stop here in your State I am met by representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic, of the men to whom we owe it that because they showed their faith by their works when works meant blood and toil and effort well-nigh superhuman, because they did that, when I come here, I come to a people living under the same flag that floats from the gulf to the great lakes in the Eastern half of our land; it is because of what they did that there is a President to come here at all; it is because of what they did that when I come here I see the men from the United States Navy ashore here in California; it is because of what they did that when the war came in 1898, the great warship Oregon steamed southward from California around the cape, up the Atlantic in time to take part in the decisive victory off Santiago Harbor. The fundamental lesson to learn from one end of this country to the other is the essential unity of our people; and I

At Santa Barbara, California, May 9, 1903.

speak here in a State which is what it now is because the pioneers who came here came with empire in their brains, came to pitch a new commonwealth by the side of the great ocean, as old world men pitched tents, because they were of a stock which dared to be great, and we in our time now must dare to be great. Our country looks eastward across the Atlantic and westward across the Pacific, across to that West which is the hoary East, from the Occident west to the Orient. (Applause.) I fail to see how any son of this country, worthy to be descended from the men of '61 to '65—the men who upheld the statesmanship of Lincoln and who followed to victory Grant and Sherman and Thomas and Sheridan—I fail to see how any true son of theirs can in his turn fail to welcome with eager joy the chance to make this country greater even than it has been before. Of course we have great tasks before us. The man who has not got great tasks to do cannot achieve greatness. Greatness only comes because the task to be done is great. The men who lead lives of mere ease, of mere pleasure, the men who go through life seeking how to avoid trouble, to avoid risk, to avoid effort, to them it is not given to achieve greatness. Greatness comes only to those who seek not how to avoid obstacles, but how to overcome them. (Applause.)

Here I speak in a region where there remain memorials of an older civilization than ours, of a civilization that was in California three-quarters of a century before the first hardy people of the new stock crossed the desert, crossed the mountain chains, or came by ships up from the isthmus, and I want to congratulate you upon the way in which you are perpetuating the memorials of that elder civilization. It is a fine thing in a new community to try to keep alive the continuity of historic interests; it is a fine thing to try to remember the background which even those of us who are most confident of the future may be pleased to see existed in the past; and I am pleased to see how in your architecture, both in the architecture of new and great buildings going up, and in the architecture of the old buildings, and in

many other ways, you are, by keeping the touch and flavor of the older civilization, giving a peculiar flavor to our own new civilization, and in an age when the tendency is a trifle toward too great uniformity. (Applause.)

I wonder whether you really appreciate how beautiful your country is. Sometimes people grow so familiar with their surroundings that they fail entirely to appreciate them. I had read and heard of the marvelous beauty of Southern California, the beauty of your climate, the wonderful fertility of your soil, but I had not realized it; I could not realize it until I saw it. It seems to me as though there could not be another spot on the world's surface blessed in quite the same way that this has been blessed. And now, my fellow-citizens, so much has been given to you, so much must of right be expected from you. As you have for your good fortune been placed down in this beautiful region with its wonderful climate, with its soil, with all the chance for development that it offers, so we have a right to expect a particularly high type of American citizenship from you. In the long run, mind you, that is what counts. I have been delighted to see the orange groves, to see your olive orchards, to see all the marvelous products of this soil, the products temperate and semi-tropic. Of course, in the last analysis the material prosperity of any country rests more even than upon its manufactures, its commerce, or its mines, upon what is successfully accomplished by the tillers of the soil, upon the products of the soil; and our material well-being depends in the long run more than upon anything else upon what we develop agriculturally; so that I congratulate you upon that. I congratulate you upon your wonderful material prosperity; but it is only the foundation for the higher life of citizenship, and it can be no more. It is indispensable as a foundation of course; the house cannot be built unless the foundation is broad and deep; we cannot develop the higher life unless we have the material prosperity, the physical well-being upon which to develop it. But we are not to be excused if we fail to go on and build the

superstructure of intellectual, moral, spiritual growth upon the well-being of the body. In introducing me, Judge, you spoke of the problems that confront our civilization from within and from without. The problems differ from generation to generation, but the qualities that are needed to solve them remain unchanged from world's end to world's end. The qualities needed to solve aright the problems of today are the same qualities that were needed by the men who in 1861 found themselves confronted with the question of whether or not this country should remain all united and free, or divided and partially unfree, and we can solve, and we will solve all the questions that come up if we approach them in the spirit with which Abraham Lincoln and the men of his generation approached the mighty task that the Lord had set them to do, if we approach them with his courage, his patience, his resolution and his sane and human common sense. The lessons that you taught—you men of the great war—applied not only in war, but apply in peace. You sought the lesson of brotherhood first. Was there ever brotherhood closer than the brotherhood of those who marched to battle together, who fought together, who lay out in the frozen mud of the winter trenches together, and who saw the brightest and best of those around them give up their young lives under battle, under bayonet, or on the fever cots of the hospitals? No brother could be closer than that. How did you work out your problems there? You worked them out fundamentally by standing each on his worth as a man. You worked them out by treating the man on your right and the man on your left according to what they proved themselves to be without regard to any adventitious or accidental outside circumstances. Take the man on the right hand or the man on the left—little you cared for his wealth; little you cared for his social position; small was your concern as to the creed according to which he worshiped his Maker. What did concern you was to know whether his mettle would ring true on war's red touchstone. That is what was of vital consequence to you. If he had that in him; if he had

the iron will, the spirit that drove him forward over defeat to the ultimate triumph, all else was of small consequence. (Applause.)

The same thing is true of citizenship now. There is not any patent device by which we can get good government. There is not any way by which we can alter or reshape the general scheme of things, by which we can avoid the necessity of practicing the old, humdrum, everyday, commonplace virtues, for the lack of which in the individual as in the nation, no brilliancy, no genius, can ever atone. As a nation and individually we must show the fundamental qualities of hardihood, courage, manliness, of decency, morality, clean living, fair dealing as between man and man, of common sense, the saving grace of common sense. We must show the qualities which made us as a nation able to free ourselves in 1776, able to preserve our national existence in 1861; and if we fail to show them we will go down; and because we will show them we will make of this country the mightiest upon which the sun has ever shone. (Applause.)

New methods must be devised for meeting the various problems that come up. Our complex industrial civilization with its great concentration of population and of capital in cities, with its extraordinary increase in the rapidity and ease of communication, alike communication of news and transportation—that complex civilization has brought new problems before us. It has brought much of good and some evil; but it has not altered in the slightest the need for the old, fundamental virtues. The men of '61 fought for liberty under the law, liberty by and through the law. They fought to establish the principle that the law was supreme; that no man, great or small, stood above it or without it; that no man could violate it, and that no man could be denied its protection. Now in civil life no man can be allowed to put himself above the law, the law that is to check greed and violence, that is to put a stop to every form of outrage by one man against another, the law under and through which alone can we preserve republican institutions and democratic

liberty. The violence that accompanies license is the hand-maiden of tyranny, and has throughout the world's history proved but the harbinger of despotism. You, of the great war, forever established the fact that there should be no appeal to sectional hate in this country, and just as evil is it to strive to arouse any spirit of antagonism based upon class or creed. Any form of hatred of one's neighbor is hostile to the spirit of our government, whether it take the shape of the arrogance which looks down upon those who are less well off, which would oppress those less able to protect themselves, or the rancor and envy which regard with jealous ill will those who are better off. Either feeling is unworthy of American freemen. (Applause.)

I make my appeal to you, my fellow-citizens, in the name of those qualities which underlie the very existence of our form of government. I ask for brotherhood. I ask for the willingness of each to help the other; for the readiness of men to act in combination for the common good; but I ask you also, as you will not inflict wrong, so not to suffer it. I ask you to remember that though the law can do something, that though the honest administration of the law can do more, that though something more can be done by acting in organization, in combination, with one's fellows privately, yet that in the long run, in the ultimate analysis, each man's success must rest upon the sum of that man's individual qualities. That is the determining factor in the end as to whether the man rises or falls.

Every one of you veterans knows that in the war there were some men who would not by training or any arming make good soldiers. If the man did not have the stuff in him it was not there to get out of him. (Applause.) It is just so in citizenship. There is not a man of us who does not at times slip or stumble, and in that case it speaks ill of any one who fails to reach out a helping hand to his brother; but if a man lies down you cannot carry him. You can help a man only in the way which alone is of real ultimate help—you can help him to help himself. He has got to have it in him to make the effort, to strive. He has

got to have in him the qualities which will make him a good husband, a good father, a good neighbor, a man who deals justly by others, and does his duty by the State. If he has not got it in him, you cannot help him. He will remain to the end a drag upon himself and upon every one else. I ask that we keep that in mind; that we remember our obligations to ourselves and to the country, and that we steadfastly strive to raise ever higher the average of individual citizenship, for if that average is high enough, scant need be our concern as to the fate of the State. I believe in your future, I believe in our future, because I believe with all my heart that in the future all America will raise the standard of individual citizenship; that we will raise that standard not merely in body and in mind, but in that which counts for more than body, for more than mind, in character—character, upon which ultimately rests the fate of every nation. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS TO THE FOREST RANGERS AT SANTA BARBARA

MAY 9, 1903

Let me say a word of thanks to the members of the forestry force who acted as my escort. I wish to thank the other gentlemen also, but particularly the members of the forestry force. I am, as you gentlemen probably know, exceedingly interested in the question of forestry preservation. I think our people are growing more and more to understand that in reference to the forests and the wild creatures of the wilderness our aim should be not to destroy them simply for the selfish pleasure of one generation, but to keep them for our children and our children's children. I wish you, the Forest Rangers, and also all the others, to protect the game and wild creatures, and of course in California, where the water supply is a matter of such vital moment, the preservation of the forests for the merely utilitarian side is of the utmost, of the highest possible consequence; and there are no members of our body politic who are doing better work than those who are engaged in the preservation of the forests, the keeping of nature as it is for the sake of its use and for the sake of its beauty. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT SURF, CALIFORNIA

MAY 9, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I cannot say how much I have enjoyed these three days in California. It is the first time I ever was in your great and beautiful State; and but a few hours ago I saw for the first time the greatest of all the oceans. I have enjoyed it to the full. I have enjoyed the climate, seeing the fruits of the soil, seeing all that has been done agriculturally and industrially. I have enjoyed noting the marvelous material progress and prosperity; but what I have enjoyed most has been seeing the men and women of California. It has been to me an education to come here to California. I did not need to feel what I felt already, how much of our destiny lay on the Pacific, but I am glad to have seen your people. I have realized more even than I already realized it the fundamental oneness of the American nation. I have come from the Atlantic across the continent, and here I am addressing an American audience with the same ideals, the same aspirations, the same hopes, the same purposes, that the audiences have on the Atlantic seaboard, or in the Mississippi Valley. I am glad to have met you. I believe in you with all my heart and soul, and I believe that your future will be even greater than your past. (Cheers and applause.)

MISSION SANTA BARBARA, "PORTAL OF THE THREE SKULLS,
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA, MAY 9, 1903

ADDRESS AT SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 9, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is indeed a great pleasure to have the chance of meeting you this afternoon. For three days now I have been traveling through your wonderful and beautiful State and I marvel at its fertility. I am not surprised to see you looking happy. I should be ashamed of you if you did not. (Applause.)

I know of this county in connection with certain Eastern agricultural producers, for unless I mistake, those who offered prizes for the largest vegetables and fruits of certain kinds have had to bar the products from this county, because they invariably won the prizes. (Applause.) I know of one Eastern producer who said that the products of this county would have to be barred, because he had spent already $500 in prizes to the county and had gotten back but $14 for seeds. I have forgotten all of the records that you have in the county. I know that the largest pumpkin, watermelon and onion came from here, so that your agricultural products have made a name for themselves to be feared. Of course, in stock raising and dairying the county stands equally prominent. I am glad to learn that the State of California is erecting here the polytechnic institute for giving all the scientific training in the arts of farm life. More and more our people have waked to the fact that farming is not only a practical, but a scientific pursuit, and that there should be the same chance for the tiller of the soil to make his a learned profession that there is in any other business.

For three days I have been traveling through one of those regions of our country where the interests are agricultural and pastoral, where the tiller of the soil, the man who grows stock.

who is engaged in agriculture, is the man whose interest is predominant; and of course it is the merest truism to say that it is the earth tiller, the soil tiller, the man of the farms, the man of the ranches, who stands as the one citizen indispensable to the entire community. The welfare of the nation depends even more than upon the welfare of the wage-worker, upon the welfare of the home-maker of the country regions. I congratulate you people of California upon the evidence that you have grasped the fact which our people must grasp, that the legislation of the country must be shaped in the direction of promoting the interests of the man who has come on the soil to stay and to rear his children to take his place after him. We have passed the stage as a nation when we can afford to tolerate the man whose aim it is merely to skin the soil and go on; to skin the country, to take off the timber, to exhaust it, and go on; our aim must be by laws promotive of irrigation, by laws securing the wise use in perpetuity of the forests, by laws shaped in every way to promote the permanent interests of the country. Our aim must be to hand over to our children not an impoverished but an improved heritage. That is the part of wisdom for our people. We wish to hand over our country to our children in better shape, not in worse shape, than we ourselves got it. (Applause.)

I have congratulated you upon your material well-being and upon the steps that you are taking still further to increase that material well-being. I wish further to congratulate you upon what counts even more than material prosperity, upon taking care of the interests that go to make up the higher life of the nation. I am greeted here by men who wear the button that shows that they proved true to a lofty ideal when Abraham Lincoln called to arms in the hour of the nation's agony. (Applause.) Our nation showed itself great in those days because the nation's sons in '61 and the years immediately following had it in them to care for something more even than material well-being, because they had it in them to feel the lift toward

lofty things which only generous souls can feel. I see around me the men who took part in the great Civil War, whose presence should excuse me from preaching, for their practice preaches louder than any words of mine could. (Applause.)

I have seen everywhere through your State, in addition, the care you are taking in educating the children. I have been struck by the schools, and as I have said a special word of greeting to the men who deserve so well of the nation, so I wish to say a special greeting to the future, to the children, to those who are to be the men and women of the next generation; and upon whom it will depend whether this country goes forward or not. It is a good thing to raise such products as you have raised on your farms; it is a better thing to bring up such children as I think I have been seeing today. I like the way in which, through your schools, you are training the children to citizenship in the future. Ultimately, though soil and climate will count for much, what will count for most is the average character in the individual citizen, the individual man or woman; that is what counts in the long run in making a nation. (Applause.)

I go from you with an even increased faith in the future of our country, the future of America, because I go with an even increased faith and confidence in what the average American citizen is and will be. I believe in you, men and women of California, men and women of America, of the United States, because I feel that you are not only sound in body and sound in mind, but that which counts for more than body, more than mind—character, into which many different elements enter—but above all, the elements of decency, of courage, and of common sense. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT PASO ROBLES, CALIFORNIA

MAY 9, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I cannot say how I have enjoyed the three days I have spent in California. I had heard much and read much of the wonderful beauty of your State, of its climate, of the fertility of its soil, but I had not been able to fix in my mind what it really would be. I think I was a pretty good American when I came here, but I feel that I am a better American now. It has done me good to see you. I congratulate you upon all that you have done in business, in agriculture, in commerce, in industries of all kinds; but most of all I congratulate you and all of us upon the type of citizenship that you have produced. In the last analysis the nation will go up or go down according to the standard of the average man or woman. It is a good thing to have farms, ranches, railroads, factories and commerce, but they will avail nothing if we have not the right type of average citizen to take advantage of them. One thing that has pleased me particularly in coming through your State has been to see the schools, the attention paid to the education of your children. I have been glad to meet the men and women, and I think I have been even gladder to see the children. (Applause.) Of course it is the merest truism to say that not all our natural advantages, not all our industrial success will avail unless the American of the future is able to take advantage of the achievements of the past and to turn them to the best possible account. We need the material well-being as the foundation upon which to build and we cannot build unless we have that foundation, but it is only the foundation and upon it must be raised the superstructure of the higher civic life. And for that life you are providing in

preparing those of the next generation for the ever higher spiritual, moral and intellectual development. I have been very glad to see you; glad to have come from the Atlantic, from the East, through the West, and now to this West of the West—to California. (Applause.) There is another thing I was glad here on the seacoast to see—a vessel of the United States Navy. We have begun to take our position as a world power, a power situated on a continent fronting on two oceans, and we must have a navy to assert our position. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT PAJARO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 11, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I want to thank you for coming out to greet me this morning. I have been giving much more time to California than to any other State, and I am glad of it, for I have enjoyed every hour I have been in your beautiful and wonderful State. I have been traveling up from the South and shall now visit San Francisco, then go straight through to the North. It seems to me every good American that can should visit the Pacific Slope, to realize where so much of our country's greatness in the future will lie. I did not need to come out here in order to believe in you and your work. I knew you well and believed in you before with all my heart, but it has done me good to get in touch with you. The thing that has impressed me most coming from the Atlantic across to the Pacific has been that good Americans are good Americans in every part of this country. That is the fundamental point to remember.

I am glad to have seen you. I want to welcome the men and women, and especially the children. Of course, it is a mere truism to say that this country depends upon what the next generation is. (Applause.)

REMARKS AT WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA

MAY 11, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I have but a minute here, and I can only express to you my appreciation of your having come out to greet me. This is a great fruit center; California is a great fruit State, a great agricultural State, but, above all, California is a great State for Californians. (Applause.)

The thing that has impressed me most in this country coming from the Atlantic to the Pacific is the essential oneness of our people, the fact that good Americans are good Americans from Maine to California, from the Golden Gate to Sandy Hook That is the important part.

Glad though I am to see all your products, I want to congratulate you especially upon one—the children. (Applause.) I do not come here to teach; I come hear to learn. It has done me good to be in your State and to meet your people. Until last week I had never been in California, and I go back an even better American than I came, and I think I came out a fairly good one. Things that are truisms, that you expect as simply part of the natural order of events, need to be impressed upon our people as a whole. We need to understand the commanding position already occupied, and the infinitely more commanding position that will be occupied in the future by our nation on the Pacific. This, the greatest of all the oceans, is one which more and more during the century opening must pass under American influence; and as inevitably happens, when a great effort comes, it means that a great burden of responsibility accompanies the effort. A nation cannot be great without paying

the price of greatness, and only a craven nation will object to paying that price.

I believe in you, my countrymen; I believe in our people, and therefore I believe that they will dare to be great, therefore I believe they will hail the chance this century brings as one which it should rejoice a mighty and masterful people to have. And we can face the future with the assured confidence of success if only we face it in the spirit in which our fathers faced the problems of the past. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA

MAY 11, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I thank you for the greeting that you have extended to me. I wish to say a word of special acknowledgment to the men of the Grand Army, to the representatives of the pioneers, to the men who proved their loyalty in the supreme test from '61 to '65, and to the pioneers who showed the same qualities in winning this great West that you of the Civil War showed in your feat. I also wish to say how pleased I am to have had as my escort the men of the Naval Militia. The one thing on which this country must forever be a unit is the navy. We must have a first-class navy. A nation like ours, with the unique position of fronting at once on the Atlantic and the Pacific, a nation forced by the mere fact of destiny to play a great, a mighty, a masterful part in the world, cannot afford to neglect its navy, cannot afford to fail to insist upon the building up of the navy. We must go on with the task as we have begun it. We have a good navy now. We must make it an even better one in the future. We must have an ample supply of the most formidable type of fighting ships; we must have those ships practiced; we must see that not only are our warships the best in the world, but that the men who handle them, the men in the gun turrets, the men in the engine rooms, the men in the conning towers, are also the best of their kind. I think that our navy is already wonderfully good and we must strive to make it even better.

I am about to visit the grove of the great trees. I wish to congratulate you people of California, people of this region, and to congratulate all the country on what you have done in preserving these great trees. Cut down one of these giants and

you cannot fill its place. The ages were their architects and we owe it to ourselves and to our children's children to preserve them. Nothing has pleased me more here in California than to see how thoroughly awake you are to preserve the monuments of the past, human and natural. I am glad to see the way in which the old mission buildings are being preserved. This great, wonderful, new State, this State which is itself an empire, situated on the greatest of oceans, should keep alive the sense of historic continuity of its past, and should as one step towards that end preserve the ancient historic landmarks within its limits. I am even more pleased that you should be preserving the great and wonderful natural features here, that you should have in California a park like the Yosemite, that we should have State preserves of these great trees and other preserves where individuals and associations have kept them. We should see to it that no man for speculative purposes or for mere temporary use exploits the groves of great trees. Where the individuals and associations of individuals cannot preserve them, the State, and, if necessary, the nation, should step in and see to their preservation. We should keep the trees as we should keep great stretches of the wildernesses as a heritage for our children and our children's children. Our aim should be to preserve them for use, to preserve them for beauty, for the sake of the nation hereafter.

I shall not try to make any extended address to you. I shall only say how glad I am to be here, bid you welcome with all my heart, and say how thoroughly I believe in you, and that I am a better American for being among you. (Great applause.)

UNDER THE BIG TREES, MAY 11, 1903.

REMARKS AT THE BIG TREE GROVE, SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA

MAY 11, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND LADIES FIRST, AND TO THE REST OF THE GUESTS IN THE SECOND PLACE:

I want to thank you very much for your courtesy in receiving me, and to say how much I have enjoyed being here. This is the first glimpse I have ever had of the big trees, and I wish to pay the highest tribute I can to the State of California, to those private citizens and associations of citizens who have co-operated with the State in preserving these wonderful trees for the whole nation, in preserving them in whatever part of the State they may be found. All of us ought to want to see nature preserved; and take a big tree whose architect has been the ages, anything that man does toward it may hurt it and cannot help it; and above all, the rash creature who wishes to leave his name to mar the beauties of nature should be sternly discouraged. Take those cards pinned up on that tree; they give an air of the ridiculous to this solemn and majestic grove. (Applause.) To pin those cards up there is as much out of place as if you tacked so many tin cans up there. I mean that literally. You should save the people whose names are there from the reprobation of every individual by taking down the cards at the earliest possible moment; and do keep these trees, keep all the wonderful scenery of this wonderful State unmarred by the vandalism or the folly of man. Remember that we have to contend not merely with knavery, but with folly; and see to it that you by your actions create the kind of public opinion which will put a stop to any destruction of or any marring of the wonderful and beautiful gifts that you have received from nature, that you ought to

hand on as a precious heritage to your children and your children's children. I am, oh, so glad to be here, to be in this majestic and beautiful grove, to see the wonderful redwoods, and I thank you for giving me the chance, and I do hope that it will be your object to preserve them as nature made them and left them, for the future. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA

MAY 11, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MEN AND WOMEN, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MY FELLOW-AMERICANS:

It is a great pleasure to greet you today, to speak to the citizens of this beautiful city in this great and fertile valley and county. Ever since our train came into the Santa Clara Valley it has been as though we were passing through a garden. (Applause.) I do not wonder at the products, now that I have seen the place. This is one of the famous agricultural counties of the whole country. In hardly any other county has work quite of your kind been done in the raising of deciduous fruits, notably prunes. (Laughter and applause.) Your city is bound to grow because your county is bound to grow, and of course the city will grow where the country tributary to it produces so much. But there was something that pleased me even more than the prunes, and that was the school houses as I passed. (Laughter and applause.)

Here in this county you have many notable educational institutions. I understand that you have the qldest normal school in the State; that Santa Clara is the oldest college; you also have the University of the Pacific, the Lick Observatory and Leland Stanford University; and above all, that upon which all the higher education rests—the common school educational system of the State. It is a fine thing, an absolutely necessary thing, to have a foundation of material well-being upon which to build the higher life; but it is equally indispensable that upon that foundation the higher life shall be built. I congratulate you that in your care for the body you have not forgotten to care for the higher, the intellectual, the spiritual side of man. I have been greeted here as I have been greeted throughout California

by the men of the great Civil War, the veterans to whom we owe it to that there is a country for you and me to be proud of today. They, by their lives, by the record of their deeds, teach us in more practical fashion than it can be taught by any preaching, for they teach us by practice, that in the ultimate analysis the greatness of a nation is to be measured not by the output of its industrial products, not by its material prosperity, not by the products of the farm, factory, business house, but by the products of its citizenship, by the men and women that that nation produces. (Applause.)

When Sumter's guns thundered on that April morning in '61 no amount of industrial prosperity unaccompanied by the lift toward higher things could have saved the nation. We had then come to one of those great crises of national affairs when the need was for the elemental virtues of mankind to be displayed, when it was too late to appeal to mechanical ingenuity, mechanical inventiveness, business capacity on the greater or on the lesser scale, when nothing could save us but the manhood of the men and the womanhood of the women, when we had to rely upon the man who went to battle and upon the woman to whom fell the harder task of staying at home, with brother or lover, father or husband gone to the front, left without the breadwinner, to work her way as best she could, and to endure, in addition, the sickening anxiety for the loved ones who were in the forefront of the battle. We had to depend upon the men who, when the final call was made, were willing to count everything, life itself, as dross in the scale compared with their eager championship of national honor, of the unity of the flag, the sacredness of the republic—the men whose one ambition it was to spend and be spent when Abraham Lincoln called, and to follow the flag of Grant, of Sherman, of Thomas, of Sheridan and Farragut through the years of alternating victory and defeat until over the hills of disaster they saw the sunset of triumph at Appomattox. (Cheers and applause.)

The problems that confront us from generation to generation

GREETING THE CROWDS, CORNER THIRD, KEARNY AND MARKET STREETS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
MAY 12, 1903.

change. The methods of solution for each problem must be sought out carefully in order that that problem may be solved aright; but the fundamental qualities needed by the men of today are those that were needed by the men of yesterday, and they will be the same that in their turn the men of tomorrow will need. There is no patent substitute for the fundamental virtues. Nothing can make good citizenship in men who have not got in them courage, hardihood, decency, sanity, the spirit of truth-telling and truth-seeking, the spirit that dares and endures, the spirit that knows what it is to have a lofty ideal, and yet to endeavor to realize that ideal in practical fashion. (Applause.) That is why I congratulate you upon the care you are paying to your educational system, to the training of the young. Of course there are natures which no training can develop, because if the stuff is not there nothing can be made out of them. But training will make a good citizen a better citizen. Training when applied to raw material will do good to that raw material.

I congratulate you, I congratulate all our people, upon the realization shown by California of the fact that though the interests of the body are great, the interests of the soul are greater; that though we must take care of the first—we are not to be excused if we fail to show thrift, energy, business intelligence, the power of hard work for material ends—we are not to be excused if we fail to show those qualities, yet that those qualities cannot by themselves suffice, that to them we must add others. The body should be trained; even more should the mind be trained; and most of all should we train character; character, into which so many elements enter; but three above all—decency, the spirit of fair dealing, of decent behavior in the family, in the neighborhood, towards the State; and to decency to be added courage, the spirit that dares and endures and does and to both to be added the saving grace of common sense. I congratulate you upon your thought for the next generation, for California's greatness. The greatness of the Union in the future will depend upon the kind of men and women who act as your heirs.

If they are not the right kind they will mar and spoil the heritage you have left; and that heritage can be kept as it should and will be kept, because the boys and girls of today are being trained to become fit citizens of tomorrow.

In closing I want to thank you and to say how I have enjoyed being here in California. Above all things, I have enjoyed the knowledge that coming across this continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the East to the West, and now west of the West into California—for California stands by itself (applause)—wherever I have been addressing any audience I have been able to make my appeal to the men and women to whom I speak purely as Americans speaking to them as Americans, and as nothing else. (Applause.) You, the men of the great war, fought to put an end once for all to the evil spirit of sectional hatred. No man is a good American—I could put that stronger—the worst enemy of American institutions is the man who seeks to excite one set of Americans against their fellow-Americans. (Cheers and applause.) And it matters nothing whether the appeal is made in the fancied interest of a class, of a creed, or of a section, the man is a traitor to our institutions and spirit who makes it. We can make this government a success only by proceeding in accordance with its fundamental proposition and treating each man, Northerner or Southerner, Easterner or Westerner, whatever his birthplace, whatever his creed, his occupation, his means, as a man and as nothing else. (Applause.) I believe in you, I believe in the future of this State, I believe in the future of this nation, because I am sure that ultimately, no matter what may be any temporary swerving, our people will consent to no other base for the management of this government, and will insist invariably in the long run that we remain true to the principles of those who with Washington founded the government, and those who with Lincoln preserved the government and made this a nation of freemen, each guaranteed his rights,

each prevented from wronging any one else and each assured of his being treated exactly as his conduct entitles him to be treated. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT CAMPBELL, CALIFORNIA

MAY 11, 1903

It is a very great pleasure to be here. It is a great pleasure to take part in planting this tree in the presence of the children of Campbell County. I do not know of anything that bids better for our material well-being than the tree culture; and I know of nothing among the many things that the National Grange has done that it has done better than fostering the habit of caring for the forests where they exist, and the planting of new trees. And then even above trees come the children, that is the all-important part. It is a peculiar pleasure to me to address the children. I have but just one word to say to you; it is something I should say to your elders also. I believe in play and I believe in work. I want to see you play hard while you play, and when you work do not play at all. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT LELAND STANFORD JR. UNIVERSITY, PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 12, 1903

PRESIDENT JORDAN, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, AND ESPECIALLY YOU, MY FELLOW-COLLEGE MEN AND WOMEN:

I thank you for your greeting, and I know you will not grudge my saying, first of all, a special word of thanks to the men of the Grand Army. It is a fine thing to have before a body of students men who by their practice have rendered it unnecessary that they should preach (applause); for what we have to teach by precept, you, the men of '61 to '65, have taught by deed, by action. I am glad, I am proud as an American college man myself to have seen the tablet outside within the court which shows that this young university sent eighty-five of her sons to war when the country called for them. (Applause.) I came from a college which boasts as its proudest building that which is to stand to the memory of Harvard's sons who responded to the call of Lincoln when the hour of the nation's danger was at hand. It will be a bad day for this country and a worse day for all educative institutions in this country if ever such a call is made, and the men of college training do not feel it peculiarly incumbent upon them to respond. (Applause.)

The last week I have thoroughly enjoyed, and my enjoyment would have been unmarred by a flaw if I had not been obliged to make speeches. I have been traveling through California. It is the first time I have ever come to the Pacific Coast and my visit to the wonderful and beautiful State has been to me one of absorbing interest. I cannot say how I have appreciated being here; the chance to see the natural products, the scenery, the landscape, all that man has done with the soil, how he has

taken advantage of the climate, what he has done materially and socially, what he has done in building upon the material well-being which he has secured from soil and climate the higher life of the intellect, the spirit and the soul. Now I have come to this great institution of learning and I wonder whether you yourselves fully appreciate the mere physical beauty of your surroundings. I was not prepared in the least (and I thought I was prepared for it) for the beauty of your surroundings. You have had these plans of your university made by a great architect, native to our own American soil, who himself had the sense to adapt—not to copy in servile fashion—but to adapt the old Californian architecture to the new university uses, and so we have here a great institution of learning absolutely unique, even in its outward aspect, situated in this beautiful valley with the hills in the background, under this sky, with these buildings, and if this university does not turn out the right kind of citizenship and the right kind of scholarship, I shall be more than disappointed. (Applause.)

I want to say one word personally. President Jordan has been kind enough to allude to me as an old friend. Mr. Jordan is too modest to say that he has long been not only a friend, but a man to whom I have turned for advice and help, before and since I became President. (Applause.) I am glad to have the chance of acknowledging my obligations to him, and I am also glad that when I ask you to strive toward productive scholarship, toward productive citizenship, I can use the president of the university as an example. Of course, in any of our American institutions of learning, even more important than the production of scholarship, is the production of citizenship. That is the most important thing that any institution of learning can produce. There is a great proportion, a great number of students who cannot and should not try, in after life, to lead a career of scholarship, but no university can take high rank if it does not aim at the production of, and succeed in producing, a certain number of deep and thorough scholars. Not scholars whose scholar-

ship is of the barren kind, but men of productive scholarship, men who do good work, I trust great work, in the fields of literature, of art, of science, in all their manifold activities. Here in California this nation, composite in its race stocks, speaking an Old World tongue, and with an inherited Old World culture, has acquired an absolutely new domain. I do not mean new only in the sense of additional territory like that already possessed, I mean new in the sense of new surroundings, to use the scientific phrase, of a new environment. Being new, I think we have a right to look for a substantial achievement on the part of your people along new lines. I do not mean the self-conscious striving after newness, which is only too apt to breed eccentricity, but I mean that those among you whose bent is toward scholarship as a career, if those will keep in mind the fact that such scholarship should be productive, and should therefore aim at giving to the world some addition to the world's stock of what is useful or beautiful, and if you work simply and naturally, taking advantage of your surroundings as you find them, then in my belief a new mark will be made in the history of the intellectual achievement by our people, by our race. You of this institution are blessed in its extraordinary physical beauty and appropriateness of architecture and surroundings, with its suggestion of what I might call the Americanized Greek. Such is your institution, situated on the shores of this great ocean, built by a race which has come steadily westward, which has come to where the Occident looks west to the Orient, a race whose members here, fresh, vigorous, with the boundless possibilities of the future brought to their very doors in a sense that cannot be possible for the members of the race situated farther east—surely there will be some great outcome in the way not merely of physical, but of moral and intellectual work worth doing. I should think but ill of you if you developed along the lines of the prig, and if what I have read about California is true, if the present proper desire for athletic sports continues to develop, you are saved from that danger. (Applause.) I do

not want you to turn out prigs; I do not want you to turn out the self-conscious. I believe, with all my heart, in play. I want you to play hard without encroaching on your work. I do, nevertheless, think you ought to have at least the consciousness of the serious side of what all this means, and of the necessity of effort, thrust upon you, so that you may justify by your deeds in the future your training and the extraordinary advantages under which that training has been obtained.

America, the Republic of the United States, is of course in a peculiar sense typical of the present age. We represent the fullest development of the democratic spirit joined to the extraordinary and highly complex industrial growth of the last half century. It behooves us to justify by our acts the claims made for that political and economic progress. We will never justify the existence of the republic by merely talking about what the republic has done each Fourth of July. If our homage is lip loyalty merely the great deeds of those who went before us, the great deeds of the times of Washington and of the times of Lincoln, the great deeds of the men who won the Revolution and founded the nation, and of the men who preserved it, who made it a Union and a free republic—these great deeds will simply arise to shame us. We can honor our fathers and our fathers' fathers only by ourselves striving to rise level to their standard. There are plenty of tendencies for evil in what we see round about us. Thank heaven, there are an even greater number of tendencies for good, and one of the things, Mr. Jordan, which it seems to me gives this nation cause for hope is the national standard of ambition which makes it possible to recognize with admiration and regard such work as the founding of a university of this character. It speaks well for our nation that men and women should desire during their lives to devote the fortunes which they were able to acquire or to inherit because of our system of government, because of our social system, to objects so entirely worthy and so entirely admirable as the foundation of a great seat of learning such as this. (Applause.)

All that we outsiders can do is to pay our tribute of respect to the dead and to the living who have done such good, and at least to make it evident that we appreciate to the full what has been done.

I have spoken of scholarship; I want to go back to the question of citizenship, the question affecting not merely the scholars among you, not merely those who are hereafter to lead lives devoted to science, to art, to productivity in literature. And just let me say one word—when you take up science, art and literature, remember that one first-class bit of work is better than one thousand fairly good bits of work (applause); that as the years roll on the man or the woman who has been able to make a masterpiece with the pen, the brush, the pencil, in any way, that that man, that woman, has rendered a service to the country such as not all his or her compeers who merely do fairly good second-rate work can ever accomplish. But only a limited number of you, only a limited number of us, can ever become scholars or work successfully along the lines I have spoken of, but we can all be good citizens. We can all lead a life of action, a life of endeavor, a life that is to be judged primarily by the effort, somewhat by the result, along the lines of helping the growth of what is right and decent and generous and lofty in our several communities, in the State, in the nation.

And you, men and women, who have had the advantages of a college training are not to be excused if you fail to do not as well as, but if you fail to do more than the average man outside who has not had your advantages. (Applause.) Every now and then I meet (at least I meet him in the East, and I dare say he is to be found here) the man who, having gone through college, feels that somehow that confers upon him a special distinction which relieves him from the necessity of showing himself as good as his fellows. (Applause.) I see you recognize the type. That man is not only a curse to the community, and incidentally to himself, but he is a curse to the cause of academic education, the college and university training, because

by his existence he serves as an excuse for those who would like to denounce such education. Your education, your training, will not confer on you one privilege in the way of excusing you from effort or from work. All it can do, and what it should do, is to make you a little better fitted for such effort, for such work; and I do not care whether that is in business, politics, in no matter what branch of endeavor, all it can do is by the training you have received, by the advantages you have received, to fit you to do a little better than the average man that you meet. It is incumbent upon you to show that the training has had that effect. It ought to enable you to do a little better for yourselves, and if you have in you souls capable of a thrill of generous emotion, souls capable of understanding what you owe to your training, to your alma mater, to the past and the present that have given you all that you have—if you have such souls, it ought to make you doubly bent upon disinterested work for the State and the nation. (Applause.) Such work can be done along many different lines.

I want today, here in California, to make a special appeal to all of you, and to California as a whole, for work along a certain line—the line of preserving your great natural advantages alike from the standpoint of use and from the standpoint of beauty. If the students of this institution have not by the mere fact of their surroundings learned to appreciate beauty, then the fault is in you and not in the surroundings. Here in California you have some of the great wonders of the world. You have a singularly beautiful landscape, singularly beautiful and singularly majestic scenery, and it should certainly be your aim to try to preserve for those who are to come after you that beauty; to try to keep unmarred that majesty. Closely entwined with keeping unmarred the beauty of your scenery, of your great natural attractions, is the question of making use of, not for the moment merely, but for future time, of your great natural products. Yesterday I saw for the first time a grove of your great trees, a grove which it has taken the ages several thousands of years to

build up; and I feel most emphatically that we should not turn a tree which was old when the first Egyptian conqueror penetrated to the valley of the Euphrates, which it has taken so many thousands of years to build up, and which can be put to better use, into shingles. (Applause.) That, you may say, is not looking at the matter from the practical standpoint. There is nothing more practical in the end than the preservation of beauty, than the preservation of anything that appeals to the higher emotions in mankind. But, furthermore, I appeal to you from the standpoint of use. A few big trees, of unusual size and beauty, should be preserved for their own sake; but the forests as a whole should be used for business purposes, only they should be used in a way that will preserve them as permanent sources of national wealth. In many parts of California the whole future welfare of the State depends upon the way in which you are able to use your water supply; and the preservation of the forests and the preservation of the use of the water are inseparably connected. I believe we are past the stage of national existence when we could look on complacently at the individual who skinned the land and was perfectly content for the sake of three years' profit for himself to leave a desert for the children of those who were to inherit the soil. I think we have passed that stage. We should handle, and I think we now do handle, all problems such as those of forestry and of the preservation and use of our waters from the standpoint of the permanent interests of the home-maker in any region—the man who comes in not to take what he can out of the soil and leave, having exploited the country, but who comes to dwell therein, to bring up his children, and to leave them the heritage in the country not merely unimpaired, but if possible even improved. That is the sensible view of civic obligation, and the policy of the State and of the nation should be shaped in that direction. It should be shaped in the interest of the home-maker, the actual resident, the man who is not only to be benefited himself, but whose children and children's children are to be benefited by what he has done. California has

for years, I am happy to say, taken a more sensible, a more intelligent interest in forest preservation than any other State. It early appointed a forest commission, later on some of the functions of that commission were replaced by the Sierra Club, a club which has done much on the Pacific Coast to perpetuate the spirit of the explorer and the pioneer. Then I am happy to say a great business interest showed an intelligent and farsighted spirit which is of happy augury, for the Redwood Manufacturers of San Francisco were first among lumbermen's associations to give assistance to the cause of practical forestry. The study of the redwood which the action of this association made possible was the pioneer study in the co-operative work which is now being carried out between lumbermen all over the United States and the Federal Bureau of Forestry. All of this kind of work is peculiarly the kind of work in which we have a right to expect not merely hearty co-operation from, but leadership in college men trained in the universities of this Pacific Coast State (applause); for the forests of this State stand alone in the world. There are none others like them anywhere. There are no other trees anywhere like the giant Sequoias; nowhere else is there a more beautiful forest than that which clothes the western slope of the Sierra. Very early your forests attracted lumbermen from other States, and by the course of timber land investments some of the best of the big tree groves were threatened with destruction. I am sorry to say destruction came upon some of them, but I am happy to say that the women of California rose to the emergency through the California Club, and later the Sempervirens Club took vigorous action, but the Calaveras grove is not yet safe, and there should be no rest until that safety is secured, by the action of private individuals, by the action of the State, by the action of the nation. The interest of California in forest protection was shown even more effectively by the purchase of the Big Basin Redwood Park, a superb forest property the possession of which should be a source of just pride to all citizens jealous of California's good name.

I appeal to you, as I say, to protect these mighty trees, these wonderful monuments of beauty. I appeal to you to protect them for the sake of their beauty, but I also make the appeal just as strongly on economic grounds; as I am well aware that in dealing with such questions a farsighted economic policy must be that to which alone in the long run one can safely appeal. The interests of California in forests depend directly of course upon the handling of her wood and water supplies and the supply of material from the lumber woods and the production of agricultural products on irrigated farms. The great valleys which stretch through the State between the Sierra Nevada and the Coast Ranges must owe their future development as they owe their present prosperity to irrigation. Whatever tends to destroy the water supply of the Sacramento, the San Gabriel, and the other valleys strikes vitally at the welfare of California. The welfare of California depends in no small measure upon the preservation of water for the purposes of irrigation in those beautiful and fertile valleys which cannot grow crops by rainfall alone. The forest cover upon the drainage basins of streams used for irrigation purposes is of prime importance to the interests of the entire State. Now keep in mind that the whole object of forest protection is as I have said again and again the making and maintaining of prosperous homes. I am not advocating forest protection from the aesthetic standpoint only. I do advocate the keeping of big trees, the great monarchs of the woods, for the sake of their beauty, but I advocate the preservation and wise use of the forests because I feel it essential to the interests of the actual settlers. I am asking that the forests be used wisely for the sake of the successors of the pioneers, for the sake of the settlers who dwell on the land and by doing so extend the borders of our civilization. I ask it for the sake of the man who makes his farm in the woods, or lower down along the side of the streams which have their rise in the mountains. Every phase of the land policy of the United States is, as it by right ought to be, directed to the upbuilding of the home maker. The one sure test of all public

land legislation should be; does it help to make and to keep prosperous homes? If it does, the legislation is good. If it does not, the legislation is bad. Any legislation which has a tendency to give land in large tracts to people who will lease it out to tenants is undesirable. We do not want to ever let our land policy be shaped so as to create a big class of proprietors who rent to others. We want to make the smaller man who, under such conditions would rent—we want to make them actual proprietors. We must shape our policy so that these men themselves shall be the land owners, the makers of homes, the keepers of homes.

Certain of our land laws, however beneficent their purposes, have been twisted into an improper use, so that there have grown up abuses under them by which they tend to create a class of men who, under one color and another, obtain large tracts of soil for speculative purposes, or to rent out to others; and there should be now a thorough scrutiny of our land laws with the object of so amending them as to do away with the possibility of such abuses. If it was not for the national irrigation act we would be about past the time when Uncle Sam could give every man a farm. Comparatively little of our land is left which is adapted to farming without irrigation. The home maker on the public land must hereafter, in the great majority of cases, have water for irrigation, or the making of his home will fail. Let us keep that fact before our mind. Do not misunderstand me when I have spoken of the defects of our land laws. Our land laws have served a noble purpose in the past and have become the models for other governments. The homestead law has been a notable instrument for good. To establish a family permanently upon a quarter section of land, or of course upon a less quantity if it is irrigated land, is the best use to which it can be put. The first need of any nation is intelligent and honest citizens. Such can come only from honest and intelligent homes, and to get the good citizenship we must get the good homes. It is absolutely necessary that the remainder of our public land should be reserved for the home maker, and it is necessary in my judgment

that there should be a revision of the land laws and a cutting out of such provisions from them as in actual practice under present conditions tend to make possible the acquisition of large tracts for speculative purposes or for the purpose of leasing to others.

I have said that good laws alone will not secure good administration. Citizenship is the prime test in the welfare of the nation; but we need good laws; and above all we need good land laws throughout the West. We want to see the free farmer own his own home. The best of the public lands are already in private hands, and yet the rate of their disposal is steadily increasing. More than six million acres were patented during the first three months of the present year. It is time for us to see that our remaining public lands are saved for the home maker to the utmost limit of his possible use. I say this to you of this university because we have a right to expect that the best trained, the best educated men on the Pacific Slope, the Rocky Mountains and great plains States will take the lead in the preservation and right use of the forests, in securing the right use of the waters, and of seeing to it that our land policy is not twisted from its original purpose, but is perpetuated by amendment, by change when such change is necessary in the line of that purpose, the purpose being to turn the public domain into farms each to be the property of the man who actually tills it and makes his home on it. (Applause.)

Infinite are the possibilities for usefulness that lie before such a body as that I am addressing. Work! of course you will have to work. I should be sorry for you if you did not have to work. (Applause.) Of course you will have to work, and I envy you the fact that before you, before the graduates of this university lies the chance of lives to be spent in hard labor for great and glorious and useful causes, hard labor for the uplifting of your States, of the Union, of all mankind. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT BURLINGAME, CALIFORNIA

MAY 12, 1903

Let me thank you for coming out to see me, and say how I have enjoyed coming here. I have enjoyed being in California for the last week, and it has been the greatest possible pleasure. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BUILDING OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 12, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MEN AND WOMEN OF THIS GREAT CITY, OF THIS GREAT STATE:

Few things could have given me more pleasure than the privilege of taking part at the dedication, free of debt, of this building to the uses for which it is dedicated. It would be hard to overestimate the amount of good work done by the Young Men's Christian Associations and the Young Women's Christian Associations. (Applause.) I well remember that I used to feel for a long time indignant that there were not Young Women's Christian Associations also, and how pleased I was when they started and the development they attained. It seems to me that the Y. M. C. A. has been able to a very marked degree to combine that practical efficiency in action, in adherence to a lofty ideal which should be the aim of all decent citizenship throughout our country. (Applause.)

Of course it is not enough to have mere efficiency. The more efficient a man is the more dangerous he is if that efficiency is not guided by the proper type of spirit, by the proper sense of moral responsibility. Of course it is a mere truism to say that the very abilities, physical, mental, moral, that the very abilities of the body, the mind and the soul, which make a man potent for good, if they are guided aright, make him dangerous to himself and to the whole community if they are guided wrong. And the man because of his strength, because of his courage, of his power, can do best work for decency, if these attributes are used in the proper service, will do most harm if there is no guiding

principle behind them. As I say, that is a mere truism; you all of you know it, in dealing in your own families, with your neighbors, in your relations with the State, that strength of any kind, physical, mental, is but a source of danger if it is not guided aright. On the other hand it is just as important for every man or woman, who is striving for decency to keep ever in mind the further fact that unless there is power, efficiency, behind the effort for decency, scant is the good that will come. It is not enough to have mere aspiration after righteousness; it is not enough to have the lofty ideal; with it must go the power of in some sort practically realizing it. The cloistered virtue which fears the rough contact with the world can avail but little in our eminently practical civilization of today, in the rough and tumble life made necessary, inevitably attendant upon the development of a strong and masterful people working out its fate through the complex industrialism of this age. With decency there must go the power practically to apply it in life, practically to work it out, and to work it out for the benefit of others as well as for one's self. The Y. M. C. A. stands for so much because it represents the work of men and women who to a generous enthusiasm for their fellows, to a lofty ideal of service for the Giver of good, and for all mankind, join the power to realize that ideal in practical ways, the power to work concretely for the attainment of at least some measure of the good sought.

I have come across the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in many different walks of life. I do not know any branch of it that has done better work than the branch connected with the railway organizations, for instance, and I naturally feel a peculiar interest in and rejoice peculiarly over the work done among the soldiers and sailors wearing the uniform of the United States Government. (Applause.) Every decent American ought to be proud of the army and the navy of Uncle Sam. (Applause.) Therefore, it is peculiarly incumbent upon us to see that the man in that army or navy has a help given in the right way, not the wrong way (applause); that he is given a chance for whole-

some amusement, a chance to lead an upright and honorable life in his hours of relaxation. Another thing the Y. M. C. A. represents, and that is knowledge of human nature. You are not going to do very much good with human nature if you attempt to take the bad out of it, by leaving a vacuum, for that vacuum is going to be filled with something, and if you do not fill it with what is good it will be filled with what is evil. (Applause.) The Young Men's Christian Association represents the effort to provide for the body as well as for the mind, to help young men to educate themselves, to train themselves for the practical life as well as for the higher life, and to give them amusement and relaxation that will educate and not debase them. In other words, the Y. M. C. A. in all its branches is working for civic and social righteousness, for decency, for good citizenship. There is no patent recipe for getting good citizenship. You get it by applying the old, old rules of decent conduct, the rules in accordance with which decent men have had to shape their lives from the beginning. A good citizen, a man who stands as he should stand in his relations to the State, to the nation, must first of all be a good member of his own family (applause); a good father or son, brother or husband, a man who does right the thing that is nearest, a man who is a good neighbor, and I use neighbor broadly, who handles himself as his self-respect should bid him handle himself in his relations with the community at large, in his relations with those whom he employs, or by whom he is employed, with those with whom he comes in contact in any form of business relations, or in any other way. If there is one lesson which I think each of us learns as he grows older, it is that it is not what the man works at, provided, of course, it is respectable and honorable in character, that fixes his place; it is the way he works at it. (Applause.) Providence working in ways that to us are inscrutable conditions our lives so that but few men can choose exactly the work they would like best. One man finds that his lines lie in pleasant places; another not; one man finds that to him is allotted one task and another that he must

undertake an entirely different task. All the tasks are necessary. Every man engaged in this great city on this day in any of the innumerable kinds of work necessary to the legitimate life of the city, is himself doing necessary and honorable work; and if we are sincere in our professions of adherence to the principles laid down to the Founder of Christianity, if we are sincere in our professions of adherence to the immutable laws of righteousness we will honor in others and ourselves the power of each to do decently and well the work allotted to him and ask nothing furthan that. (Applause.) If we can get ourselves and the community at large really imbued with that spirit nine tenths of the difficulties that beset us will vanish. For far more important in causing trouble than any material misery or material misfortune, is the moral misery, the moral misfortune, the moral wrongdoing which, on the one hand, makes a man arrogant to those whom he regards as less well off than himself, and which on the other hand manifests itself in the equally base shape of rancor, hate, envy, or jealousy for those better off. (Applause.) One form of misconduct is just as bad as the other, and to preach against either only to those afflicted by the other does no good. (Applause.) When we practically realize that the worth lies in the way of doing the work; that that applies whether your work is that of employer to employed, of townsman or countryman, of the man who works with his head or the man who works with his hands; when we practically realize that, each man will have too much respect for himself and for his brother ever to permit himself either to look down upon that brother, or to regard him with envy and jealousy, either one. (Applause.) When we get that spirit in the community we will have taken a longer stride toward at least an imperfect realization in this world of the principle of applied Christianity than has ever been taken in the world before. (Applause.)

I thank you for giving me the opportunity to share in however small a degree in the work that you are doing, and I wish you Godspeed. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT BANQUET TENDERED BY THE CITIZENS OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, AT PALACE HOTEL

MAY 12, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. MAYOR, MR. GOVERNOR, AND YOU, MY HOSTS:

Let me thank you with all my heart for the more than kindness, the more than courtesy and cordiality, with which I have been treated in California from the hour when I first set foot within her borders. Governor, the message that I shall send back is: I have come to California; I have seen; and I have been conquered by California's citizens and California's Governor.

And, Mr. Mayor, as you said in your speech, the thing that has struck me most coming here, coming from the East through the West, west of the West to California—the thing that has struck me most is that though I have never been in your great and beautiful State before, though I have known your citizens only as I met them elsewhere, I am absolutely at home, for I am speaking as one American to his fellow-Americans. (Cries of "Good!" Cheers and applause.) I have been pleased with the diversity of the country, but, oh my fellow-countrymen, I have been pleased infinitely more with the unity of our country. (Applause.) While I am not by inheritance a Puritan, I have acquired certain traits one of which is an uneasy feeling which I think a large number of Americans share, that when we are having a good time, it is not quite right. (Laughter and applause.) And during the week that I have been in California I have enjoyed myself so much that I have had a slight feeling that maybe I was not quite doing my duty. (Applause.) But I cannot say that I am penitent about it.

And now, my fellow-citizens, let me try to express, for I can

only try, I cannot fully express, how I have enjoyed and appreciated my visit to California, my sojourn among you. It has been a genuine revelation, for while I knew of much that I should see, I could not realize it until I had seen it. I think I was a fairly good American a week ago when I came into your State, but I am a better one now (applause), and even more confident in the nation's future and more resolute to do whatever in my power lies to bring about that future. (Applause.) I thank you; I thank the citizens of the Golden State for their greeting. I rejoice with you in the wonderful prosperity of California, and that prosperity is but part of the prosperity of the whole nation. Speaking broadly, prosperity must of necessity come to all of us or to none of us. There are sporadic exceptions. Of course we all of us know people who cannot be made prosperous by any season of good fortune. There will be exceptions, individual and local, but the law of brotherhood is the universal law, the law upon which the well-being of this nation is based, and taken as a whole we can state with absolute certainty that if good times come they will come more or less to all sections and all classes, and that if hard times come, while they may bear unequally upon us, yet more or less they bear upon each State, upon each set of individuals. For weal or for woe, we of this country are indissolubly bound together. (Cries of "Good!" Cheers and applause.) In the long run we shall go up or go down accordingly as the whole nation goes up or goes down. Therefore it is that no more wicked deed can be done than the deed of him who would seek to make any of our people believe that they can rise by trampling down their fellows. (Cheers and applause.) And no more wicked appeal can be made than the appeal to rancor, to hatred, to jealousy, whether made in the name of a section or in the name of a class. (Applause.)

The Golden State has a future of even brighter promise than most of her older sisters, and yet the future is bright for all of us. California, still in her youth, can look forward to such growth as

PARADE, MARKET STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, MAY 12, 1903.

only a few of her sisters can share, yet there are immense possibilities of growth for all our States from one end of the Union to the other. In this growth, in keeping and increasing our prosperity, the most important factor must be the character of our citizenship. Nothing can take the place of the average quality of energy, thrift, business enterprise and sanity in our community as a whole. Unless the average individual in our nation has to a high degree the qualities that command success we cannot expect to deserve it or to keep what it brings. (Applause.) Our future is in my opinion well assured from the very fact that there is this high degree of character in the average American citizen. (Applause.) I cannot over-emphasize the fact that law and the administration of the law can merely supplement and help to give full play to the forces that make the individual man a factor of usefulness in the community. If the individual citizen has not got the right stuff in him you cannot get it out of him, because it is not there to get out. (Applause.) No law that the wit of man has ever devised ever has made or ever will make the fool wise, the coward brave, or the weakling strong. (Cheers and applause.) When we get down to those places where you see humanity in the raw then it is the native strength of the man that will count more than aught else; and we cannot afford in this community ever to weaken the spirit of individual initiative, ever to make any man believe that if he cannot walk himself somehow the law can carry him. It cannot. (Applause.) There is but one real way in which any man can be helped, and that is by teaching him to help himself. (Applause.)

Remember that the factor of the sum of the individual's own qualities comes first. With that admitted, with that kept in mind, it is then true that something, and oftentimes a good deal, can be done by wise legislation and by upright, honest and fearless enforcement of the laws, an enforcement of the laws which must and shall know no respect of persons—(applause) laws local, laws State, laws national. We have attained our present position of economic well-being, of economic leadership in the inter-

national business world under a tariff policy in which I think our people as a whole have acquiesced as essentially wise alike from the standpoint of the manufacturer, the merchant, the farmer, and the wageworker. Doubtless as our needs shift it will be necessary to reapply in its details this system so as to meet those shifting needs; but it would certainly seem from the standpoint of our business interests—and such a question, primarily a business question, should be approached only from the standpoint of our business interests—it would seem most unwise to abandon the general policy of the system under which our success has been so signal.

In financial matters we are to be congratulated upon having definitely determined that our currency system must rest upon a gold basis (applause), for to follow any other course would have meant disaster so widespread that it would be difficult to overestimate it. There is, however, unquestionably need of enacting further financial legislation so as to provide for greater elasticity in our currency system. (Applause.) At present there are certain seasons during which the rigidity of this system causes a stringency most unfortunate in its effects. The last Congress in its wisdom took up and disposed of various matters of vital moment; such as those dealing with the regulation and supervision of the great corporations commonly known as trusts, with securing in effective fashion the abolition of rebates by transportation companies, that is with securing fair play as between the big man and the little man in getting their products to market (applause), and in initiating the national system of irrigation. So in my judgment the Congress that is to assemble next fall should take up and dispose of the pressing questions relating to banking and currency. I believe that such action will be taken, and I am sure that it ought to be taken. (Applause.) It is needed in the interest of the business world and it is needed even more in the interest in the world of producers, of earth tillers, of men who make their living by the products of the farm and ranch. Such action would supplement in fitting style the excellent work that has already

been done in recent years in regard to our monetary system. There always will be need of wise legislation and an even greater need of the wisdom which recognizes when the wisest policy is to have no legislation; and it is of prime importance to us to remember that we cannot afford to condone in public life any deviation from the principles of common sense and of rugged honesty which we deem essential in private and business life. (Applause.)

There is no royal road to good government. Good government comes to the nation the bulk of whose people show in their relations to that government the humdrum, ordinary, work-a-day virtues, and it comes and can come upon no other condition. We need the best intellectual skill, we need the most thorough training in public life, but such skill and such training can be only supplementary to and in some sense substitutes for the fundamental virtues that have marked every great and prosperous nation since the dim years when history dawned, the fundamental virtues of decency, honesty, courage, hardihood; the spirit of fair dealing as between man and man, the spirit that dares, that foresees, that endures, that triumphs; and added to all those qualities, the saving grace of common sense. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE HALL OF THE NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, IN RESPONSE TO GREETINGS FROM THE ASSOCIATION OF PIONEERS, MEXICAN WAR VETERANS, NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST, AND NATIVE DAUGHTERS OF THE GOLDEN WEST

MAY 13, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, MRS. KEITH, AND YOU WHO HAVE GREETED ME TODAY:

I thank you, men and women of the Golden State. I thank you not merely for the greeting you have given me today, but through you I thank your State for the week I have spent within her borders. I trust I came within them a fairly good American, and I leave them a better American. (Applause.)

I am deeply touched by the beautiful gift you have given me, and you see this shows that even a President can be a successful bear hunter. (Laughter and applause.) I had begun to think that my acquaintance with that noble animal must cease.

Mr. Phelan, you pleased and touched me very much by what you said as to my feeling toward the pioneers. Of course I am glad to be welcomed by you, for you, the men of '49, the men of the Mexican War, you have done what I preach, and practice is always better than preaching. I should be sorry indeed if there were not societies like those of the Native Sons and Native Daughters in this State to keep alive the sense of historic continuity with the State's mighty past. (Applause.) I have welcomed the sight of the feeling which has made the people of this

Reviewing U. S. Troops, Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, California, May 12, 1903.

State wish to preserve the ancient landmarks, landmarks of man and landmarks of nature, and which has made them desirous of keeping alive the memory of the great deeds and great doers, which gave the State to the Union.

Proud of your State? Of course you are proud of your State. How could you help being? I do not praise you for being proud of your State. I would be ashamed of you if you were not.

It is sometimes difficult for us fully to realize what has been done. Colonel, you and your fellow-veterans took part in a war which in its effects dwarfed into insignificance all the struggles of contemporary Europe. It often happens that at the time being two great contests are seen entirely out of perspective, that the real importance of them is shrouded from the eyes that look on at the moment, so that at the time of the decay of the Roman empire the struggles of the rival claimants for the throne of the Cæsars seemed all-important to the people on the shores of the Mediterranean, but now we forget even the names of those under whose banners the rival factions fought, while for all time deeply imprinted in history are the deeds of the men, the barbarians, who came from the north and who founded France, England, Lombardy and Spain as we know them today, those deeds were of lasting consequence, but we have forgotten what the others fought about, so now no one cares to try to disentangle the cause of the wars between the successors to the empire of Alexander for the fragments of his monarchy, but the issue of the struggle between Rome and Carthage was big with the fate of the world. Here on this continent while great European nations spent their blood and their treasure in devastating warfare for tiny provinces, it was given to this people to wage war against man, to wage war against nature, for the possession of the vast, lonely spaces of the earth which we have now made the seat of a mighty civilization. (Applause.) Why, Colonel, you and your fellows, you and the men who came here as pioneers, settled the destiny of half a continent and ultimately settled the destiny of the greatest of all the oceans. (Applause.)

Great were your feats; great the deeds you did; you did them in iron times; and you could have done them only on condition of having iron in your blood, of having within you the spirit that drives a man onward over obstacles, over difficulties, that makes him refuse to be daunted, and out of failure through effort win ultimate success. (Applause.) The days have changed. The pioneer days have gone, but the need for the old pioneer virtues remains as great as ever. (Applause.) In every generation we see people who treat the mighty deeds of the fathers as an excuse for failing to do all that should be done themselves. It is therefore the duty of those of each generation who appreciate to the full what the work of the fathers meant, to keep alive the memory of that work as a spur to ever fresh effort on their part. (Applause.) For that reason I hail with especial pleasure the existence of such societies as those which seek to band together the young men and young women native born to this State and seek to keep alive in them the spirit which will make them in their turn do mighty works, mighty deeds, of which their children shall be proud. (Applause.)

We are proud of you. We are proud of the men of the war of '46, of the men of '49, because in 1846 and in 1849 you did not hold the fact that your fathers had done well in 1876 as an excuse for your doing nothing. (Applause.) And we, if we expect our children to be proud of us and not to have to skip a generation in order to have cause to be proud, if we expect them to be proud of us, we must in our turn try to do to the best of our capacity the deeds ready at hand; try to grapple with the work that the nation finds to be done without its boundaries and within, the work of civic and municipal administration, the work of endeavoring to better our social as well as our political system, the work of striving to make more real, more part of our lives in practice, the principles of brotherhood to which we all in the abstract pay our homage, and also of keeping up our work as a people without our boundaries. As the Colonel said, this was the boundary. It is not. Sail westward and westward and you will find that the

boundary has gone. San Francisco is not on the westernmost verge of our possessions. Run down the lines of longitude and you will find that it is in the exact center. (Applause.)

I ask then, men and women of this great and beautiful State, this wonderful State, that you, that all of us approach our duties of today in the spirit that our fathers have shown in the different crises of the past, that we approach them realizing that nothing can take the place of the ordinary, everyday performance of duty, that we need the virtues which do not wait for heroic times, but which are exercised day in and day out in the ordinary work, the ordinary duty of the life domestic, the life social, the life in reference to the State; and if we show those qualities, if we show the qualities that make for good citizenship, for decency and civic righteousness in ordinary times, my faith is firm that when the need for the heroic efforts arises our people will in the future as they have always done in the past show that they have the capacity for heroic work. (Great applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE CEREMONIES, INCIDENT TO THE BREAKING OF SOD FOR THE ERECTION OF A MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF THE LATE PRESIDENT McKINLEY, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 13, 1903

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-AMERICANS:

It is a befitting thing that the first sod turned to prepare for the monument to commemorate President McKinley should be turned in the presence of his old comrades of the great war, and in the presence of the men who, in a lesser war, strove to show that they were not wholly unworthy of those who in the dark years from '61 to '65 proved their truth by their endeavor; and with the blood cemented the foundation of the American Republic. (Applause.) It is a solemn thing to speak in memory of a man who, when young, went to war for the honor and the life of the nation, who for four years did his part in the camp, on the march, in battle, rising steadily upward from the ranks, and to whom it was given in after life to show himself exemplary in public and in private conduct, to become the ideal of the nation in peace as he had been a typical representative of the nation's young sons in war. (Applause.)

It is not too much to say that no man since Lincoln was as widely and as universally beloved in this country as was President McKinley. (Applause.) For it was given to him not only to rise to the most exalted station but to typify in his character and conduct those virtues which any citizen worthy of the name likes to regard as typically American; to typify the virtues of cleanly and upright living in all relations, private and public, as

in the most intimate family relations, in the relations of business, in the relations with his neighbors, and finally, in his conduct of the great affairs of state. And exactly as it was given to him to do his part in settling aright the greatest problem which it has ever befallen this nation to settle since it became a nation—the problem of the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery—exactly as it was his good fortune to do his part as a man should in his youth in settling that great problem, so it was his good fortune when he became in fact and in name the nation's chief, the nation's titular and the nation's real chief, to settle the problems springing out of the Spanish War; problems less important only than those which were dealt with by the men who, under the lead of Washington, founded our government, and the men who, upholding the statesmanship of Lincoln and following the sword of Grant, or Sherman, or Thomas or Sheridan saved and perpetuated the Republic. (Applause.)

When 1898 came and the war which President McKinley in all honesty and in all sincerity sought to avoid became inevitable, and was pressed upon him, he met it as he and you had met the crisis of 1861. He did his best to prevent the war coming; once it became evident that it had to come then he did his best to see that it was ended as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. (Applause.) It is a good lesson for nations and individuals to learn never to hit if it can be helped and never to hit soft. (Laughter and applause.) I think it is getting to be fairly understood that that is our foreign policy. We do not want to threaten; certainly we do not desire to wrong any man; we are going to keep out of trouble if we possibly can keep out; and if it becomes necessary for our honor and our interest to assert a given position we shall assert it with every intention of making the assertion good. (Cheers and applause.)

The Spanish War came. As its aftermath came trouble in the Philippines, and it was natural that this State within whose borders live and have lived so many of the men who fought in the

great war—it was natural that this State should find its sons eagerly volunteering for the chance to prove their truth in the war that came in their days; and it was to be expected that California's sons should do well, as they did do well, in the Philippines in the new contest. (Applause.)

And now it is eminently fitting that the men of the great war and the men of the lesser war claiming not only to have been good soldiers but to be good citizens should come here to assist at laying the foundation of the monument to him who typified in his career the virtues of the soldier and exemplified in his high office our ideals of good citizenship. I am glad that a monument should have been erected here in this wonderful State on the shores of the Pacific; in this city with a great past and with a future so great that the most sanguine among us cannot properly estimate it; this city, the city of the Occident which looks west to the Orient across the Pacific, westward to the West that is the hoary East; this city situated upon that giant ocean which will in a not distant future be commercially the most important body of water in the entire world.

I have enjoyed coming into your State; coming into your city, and speaking to an audience like this, an audience composed so largely of volunteer soldiers, old and young. I wish to say how I have enjoyed seeing, and to-day reviewing, the officers and enlisted men of the army and navy of the United States—the regulars. Thank Heaven! the day is long past when the thought of any rivalry save that of honest and generous emulation in the service of the Republic could exist between regular and volunteer. (Cheers and applause.) Need I say between regular and volunteer? Why, the regulars are all volunteers. In our country every officer, every enlisted man, in the navy or the army is these because he has volunteered to go in. And as I looked at the faces of the officers and men under General MacArthur and Admiral Glass I felt proud as Commander-in-Chief that they formed our army and navy and prouder as an American citizen to see such

American citizens wearing the uniform of Uncle Sam. (Applause.)

I thank you for coming here and for giving me the privilege of joining with you today in these solemn ceremonies of commemoration, the ceremonies of laying the foundation of the monument which is to keep green in mind the memory of McKinley as a lesson in war and a lesson in peace, as a lesson to all Americans of what can be done by the American who in good faith strives to do his whole duty by the mighty Republic. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS ON BEING PRESENTED WITH A CANTEEN BY VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SPANISH WAR VETERANS, AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 13, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Now, comrades, I guess you do not wonder that I am fond of the men of my regiment. In receiving this beautiful canteen I want to say that I shall prize it even more than the old one, and all of us know how we prize the old one. I want to thank you and my comrades of the Spanish-American War from my heart; and I do not have to say to you of the old war that there is no other bond that can unite men quite so closely together as the bond of having in actual service drunk out of the same canteen. (Applause.)

I want to say to you a word about Mr. King. The only time I ever saw him nervous was just now. He was not only a first-class soldier, but I am sure that all of you will understand me when I say that in the field he was also a first-class cook. I shall never forget one day right after the San Juan fight when I had lived sumptuously for thirty-six hours on two hardtacks, Comrade King, somehow or other, had evolved the ingredients of a first-class stew, and with an affection which was mighty real in its results to me at that moment, brought some of it to me. And I have never tasted, not even at the wonderful banquet that I have attended in San Francisco, anything quite so good.

I have four comrades in this city and I had almost to break their hearts yesterday in the interests of the chief there by refusing to have them act as my escort in the procession. It is

Shaking Hands With Representative of the Spanish War Veterans at Conclusion of Presentation of Souvenir Canteen. Site, McKinley Monument, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California, May 13, 1903.

such a pleasure to see them here and to see all my comrades of the Spanish War. None of the men of my own generation or of this younger, stand as close to me as you of my regiment, as the men of the Spanish War do, and I know you younger ones will not object to my saying that there are some that stand even closer, because we join in doffing our hats to them, the men of the great war, our examples in all that we strove to do. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT MECHANICS' PAVILION, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 13, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND YOU, MEN AND WOMEN OF SAN FRANCISCO, OF CALIFORNIA:

I should be indeed unappreciative if I were not deeply stirred by the greeting I have received in your State, in your city, and especially by this audience tonight. (Applause.) It has been a great pleasure to come into wonderful and beautiful California, to see the State itself, but most of all the citizens of the State. Today I have been especially pleased and struck by the greeting of the children. (Applause.) You know I believe in children; and I was not only glad to see the kind of children you had, but also how many you had. (Laughter.) And above all, I have been pleased this evening driving through the streets to be greeted by the children of the night schools and their teachers.

I have in New York a very dear friend named Jacob Riis (applause)—(let any one that will applaud him, for they ought to),—who has written and taught by precept and practice that each one of us ought to be his brother's keeper when the chance arises, and who has devoted himself particularly to the welfare of the children, and especially to those children to whom life does not come too easily and to those who have to strive for their education at the same time that they are earning their living, and to whom the education is bound to be of ten-fold more value because it is acquired as things worth acquiring generally must be acquired —by effort and self-sacrifice. (Applause.)

I have come from the Atlantic across this continent to the Pacific. I have greeted many audiences. I see a little diversity, but, oh my fellow-citizens, what strikes me most and pleases me most is the fundamental unity, is the fact that wherever I go I

speak to an audience of Americans, be they East or be they West. (Cheers and applause.) And I make the same appeal with the same confidence here beside the Golden Gate that I should make by the Great Lakes or in the upper Mississippi Valley or on the Atlantic Ocean. This is a government of freemen, who have achieved liberty under the law, who have, by force of arms as well as by legislation, established once for all as the fundamental principle of our government that there shall not in this country be license; that there shall not be in this country liberty to oppress without the law; that liberty and freedom shall come under and in pursuance of the law, of the law that is no respecter of persons, under a government that is a government neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such, but for every man, rich or poor, if he is a decent man and does his duty to the State. (Cheers and applause.)

Before I came to the Pacific Slope I was an expansionist (applause), and after having been here I fail to understand how any man convinced of his country's greatness and glad that his country should challenge with proud confidence its mighty future, can be anything but an expansionist. (Applause.) In the century that is opening, the commerce and the command of the Pacific will be factors of incalculable moment in the world's history.

The seat of power ever shifts from land to land, from sea to sea. The earliest civilizations, those seated beside the Nile and in Mesopotamia had little to do with sea traffic. But with the rise of those people who went down to the sea in ships, with the rise of the Phoenicians, the men of Tyre and Sidon, the Mediterranean became the central sea on whose borders lay the great wealthy and cultivated powers of antiquity. The war navies and the merchant marines of Carthage, Greece and Rome strove thereon for military and industrial supremacy. Its control was the prerequisite to greatness, and the Roman became lord of the Western world only when his fleet rode unchallenged from the Aegean to the Pillars of Hercules. Then Rome fell. But for centuries thereafter the wealth and the culture of Europe were

centered on its southern shores, and the control of the Mediterranean was vital in favoring or checking their growth. It was at this time that Venice and Genoa flourished in their grandeur and their might.

But gradually the nations of the North grew beyond barbarism, and developed fleets and commerce of their own. The North Sea, the Baltic, the Bay of Biscay, saw trading cities rise to become independent or else to become props of mighty civilized nations. The seafaring merchants ventured with ever greater boldness into the Atlantic. The cities of the Netherlands, the ports of the Hansa, grew and flourished as once the Italian cities had grown. Holland and England, Spain, Portugal and France sent forth mercantile adventurers to strive for fame and profit on the high seas. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled, America was discovered, and the Atlantic Ocean became to the greater modern world what the Mediterranean had been to the lesser world of antiquity.

Now, men and women of California, in our own day, the greatest of all the oceans, of all the seas, and the last to be used on a large scale by civilized man bids fair to become in its turn the first in point of importance. (Applause.) The empire that shifted from the Mediterranean will in the lifetime of those now children bid fair to shift once more westward to the Pacific. When the 19th century opened the lonely keels of a few whale ships, a few merchantmen, had begun to furrow the vast expanse of the Pacific; but as a whole its islands and its shores were not materially changed from what they had been in the long past ages when the Phoenician galleys traded in the purple of Tyre, the ivory of Lybia, the treasures of Cyprus. The junks of the Orient still crept between China and Japan and Farther India, and from the woody wilderness which shrouded the western shores of our own continent the red lords of the land looked forth upon a waste of waters which only their own canoes traversed. That was but a century ago; and now, at the opening of the 20th century, the change is so vast that it is well-nigh impossible for us

ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE FROM HIGH SCHOOL PLATFORM, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, MAY 14, 1903.

to estimate its importance. In the South Seas the great commonwealth of Australia has sprung into being. Japan, shaking off the lethargy of centuries, has taken her rank among civilized, modern powers. European nations have seated themselves along the eastern coast of Asia, while China by her misfortunes has given us an object-lesson in the utter folly of attempting to exist as a nation at all, if at the same time both rich and defenseless.

Meanwhile our own mighty republic has stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and now in California, Oregon, and Washington, in Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines, holds an extent of coast line which makes it of necessity a power of the first class in the Pacific. The extension in the area of our domain has been immense, the extension in the area of our influence even greater. America's geographical position on the Pacific is such as to insure our peaceful domination of its waters in the future if only we grasp with sufficient resolution the advantages of that position. We are taking long strides in that direction; witness the cables we are laying down, the steamship lines we are starting—some of them already containing steamships larger than any freight carriers that have previously existed. We have taken the first steps toward digging an Isthmian Canal, to be under our own control (applause), a canal which will make our Atlantic and Pacific coast lines in effect continuous, which will be of incalculable benefit to our mercantile navy, and above all to our military navy in the event of war.

The inevitable march of events gave us the control of the Philippine Islands at a time so opportune that it may without irreverence be called Providential. Unless we show ourselves weak, unless we show ourselves degenerate sons of the sires from whose loins we sprang, we must go on with the work we have undertaken. (Applause.) I most earnestly hope that this work will ever be of a peaceful character. We infinitely desire peace, and the surest way of obtaining it is to show that we are not afraid of war. We should deal in a spirit of justice and fairness with weaker nations, and we should show to the strongest that

we are able to maintain our rights. Such showing cannot be made by bluster; for bluster merely invites contempt. Let us speak courteously, deal fairly, and keep ourselves armed and ready. If we do these things we can count on the peace that comes to the just man armed, to the just man who neither fears nor inflicts wrong. We must keep on building and maintaining a thoroughly efficient navy, with plenty of the best and most formidable ships, with an ample supply of officers and men, and with those officers and men trained in the most efficient fashion to perform their duties. Only thus can we assure our position in the world at large. It behooves all men of lofty soul fit and proud to belong to a mighty nation to see to it that we keep our position in the world; for our proper place is with the great expanding peoples, with the peoples that dare to be great, that accept with confidence a place of leadership in the world. All our people should take that position, but especially you of California, you of the Pacific Slope, for much of our expansion must go through the Golden Gate. (Applause.) And inevitably you who are seated by the Pacific must take the lead in and must profit by the growth of American influence along the coasts and among the islands of that mighty ocean, where East and West finally become one.

My countrymen, I believe in you with all my heart. I am proud that it has been granted to me to be a citizen in a nation of such glorious opportunities, with the wisdom, the hardihood, and the courage to take advantage of them. We have no choice, we people of the United States, as to whether or not we shall play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by fate, by the march of events. We have to play that part. All that we can decide is whether we shall play it well or ill. (Applause.) We are not and cannot and never will be one of those nations that can progress from century to century doing little and suffering little, standing aside from the great world currents. We must either succeed greatly or fail greatly. The citizen of a small nation may keep his self-respect if that nation plays but a small

part in the world, because it is physically impossible for the nation to do otherwise; but the citizen of a great nation which plays a small part should hang his head with shame. (Cheers and applause.)

I do not preach to this country the life of ease, any more than I should preach it to any man worth his salt living in the country. The citizen that counts, the man that counts in our life is the man who endeavors not to shirk difficulties but to meet and overcome them (applause); is the man who endeavors not to lead his life in the world's soft places, not to walk easily and take his comfort; but the man who goes out to tread the rugged ways that lead to honor and success, the ways the treading of which means good work worthily done. (Applause.)

What father or what mother here, if capable of taking the right view, does not wish to see his or her children grow up trained, not to flinch but to overcome, trained not to avoid whatever is hard and rough and difficult, but to go down into the hurly burly of actual life and win glory in the arena, heedless of the dust and the sweat and blood of the contest.

You men of the West, the older among you, came here, hewed out your own fates for yourselves. The younger among you are the heirs of the men who did this, and you cannot, unless you are false to your blood, desire to see the nation, which is but the aggregate of the individuals act otherwise than in the way which you esteem as honorable for the individual.

Our place as a nation is and must be with the nations that have left indelibly their impress on the centuries. Men will tell you that the great expanding nations of antiquity have passed away. So they have; and so have all others. Those that did not expand passed away and left not so much as a memory behind them. The Roman expanded, the Roman passed away, but the Roman has left the print of his law, of his language, of his masterful ability in administration, deep in the world's history, deeply imprinted in the character of the races that came after him. I ask that this people rise level to the greatness of its

ADDRESS AT DEDICATION OF NAVY MEMORIAL MONUMENT, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

MAY 14, 1903

MR. MAYOR, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MEN AND WOMEN OF SAN FRANCISCO:

The ground for this monument was first turned by President McKinley (applause), and I am glad to have the chance of saying a few words in dedication of the completed monument. There is no branch of our government in which all our people are so deeply interested as the navy of the United States. (Applause.) It is not merely San Francisco, not merely New York, or Boston, or Charleston, or New Orleans, not merely the seacoast cities of the nation; every individual in the nation who is proud of America and jealous of her good name must feel a thrill of generous emotion at the erection of a monument to the navy, a monument to the fleet which was victorious under Admiral Dewey on the first of May, five years ago, a fleet which then added a new page to the long honor roll of American achievement. (Applause.) It is eminently fitting that there should be here in this great city on the Pacific Ocean a monument to commemorate the deed which showed once for all that America had taken her position on the Pacific. I want you all to draw a practical lesson from this commemoration. We today dedicate this monument because those who went before us had the wisdom to make ready for the victory. If we wish our children to have the chance of dedicating monuments of this kind in the event of war we must see that the navy is made ready in advance. (Applause.) To dedicate the monument would be an empty and foolish thing if we accompanied it by an abandonment of our national policy of building up the navy. (Applause.) And good though it is to erect

ENTERING UNION SQUARE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, MAY 14, 1903. PRIOR TO ADDRESS DEDICATING MONUMENT COMMEMORATING VICTORY OF MANILA BAY.

this monument, it is better still to go on with the building up of the navy which gave the monument to us, and which, if we ever give it a fair chance, can be relied upon to rise level to our needs. (Applause.)

Remember that after the war has begun it is too late to improvise a navy. A naval war is two-thirds settled in advance, at least two-thirds, because it is mainly settled by the preparation which has gone on for years preceding its outbreak. We won at Manila because the shipbuilders of the country, including those here at San Francisco, under the wise provisions of Congress, had for fifteen years before been preparing the navy. In 1882 our navy was a shame and a disgrace to the country in point of material. The personnel contained as fine material as there was to be found in the world, but the ships and the guns were as antiquated as if they had been the galleys of Alcibiades, and it would have been a wicked absurdity to have sent them against the ships of any great power. Then we began to build up the navy. Every ship that fought under Dewey had been built between 1883 and 1898. We come here as patriots remembering that our party lines stop at the water's edge. That fleet was successful in 1898 because under the previous administrations of both political parties, under the previous Congress controlled by both political parties for the previous fifteen years, there had been a resolute effort to build adequate ships and see that they were practiced. The ships that went in under Dewey had been constructed under different successive Secretaries of the Navy, and had been provided for by different successive Congresses of the United States. Not one of them had been built less than two years, some of them fourteen years. We could not have begun to fight that battle if we had not been for so many years making ready the navy.

The last Congress has taken greater strides than any previous Congress in making ready the navy, but it will be two or three years before the effects are seen. In no branch of the government is foresight and the carrying out of a steady and continuous pol-

icy so necessary as in the navy; and you, citizens of San Francisco, of California, and all our citizens should make it a matter of prime duty to see that there is no halt in that work, that the next Congress, and the Congress after that, and the Congress after that, go right on with providing formidable warcraft whose hammering guns beat out destiny on the high seas, with providing the officers, with providing the men, and with providing the means of training them in peace to be effective in war. The best ships and the best guns do not count unless they are handled aright and aimed aright, and the best men cannot thus handle the one nor aim the other if they do not have ample practice. Our people must be trained in handling our ships in squadrons on the high seas. Our people on the ships must be trained by actual practice to do their duty in conning tower, in the engine rooms, in the gun turrets. The shots that count in battle are the shots that hit, and only those. (Applause.)

We have reason to be satisfied with the rapid increase in accuracy in marksmanship of the navy in recent years, and I congratulate Admiral Glass and those under him and all our naval officers who are taking their part so well in perfecting that work, and I congratulate the enlisted men of the navy upon the extraordinary improvement in marksmanship shown by the gun pointers. (Applause.)

Applaud the navy and what it has done. That is first-class. But make your applause count by seeing that the good work goes on. Besides applauding now see to it that the navy is so built up that the men of the next generation will have something to applaud also. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

MAY 14, 1903

PRESIDENT WHEELER, FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY: (Applause.)

Last night, in speaking to one of my new friends in California, he told me that he thought enough had been said to me about the fruits and flowers; that enough had been said to me about California being an Eden, and that he wished I would pay some attention to Adam as well. Much though I have been interested in the wonderful physical beauty of this wonderful State, I have been infinitely more interested in its citizenship, and perhaps most in its citizenship, in the making.

When I come to the University of California and am greeted by its President I am greeted by an old and valued friend, a friend whom I have not merely known socially but upon whom, while I was Governor of New York, I leaned often for advice and assistance in the problems with which I had to deal. (Applause.) And when he accepted your offer I grudged him to you. (Applause.) And it was not until I came here, not until I have seen you, that I have been fully reconciled to the loss. But now I am, for I can conceive of no happier life for any man to lead to whom life means what it should mean, than the life of the President of this great University. (Applause.)

This same friend last night suggested to me a thought that I intend to work out in speaking to you today. We were talking over the University of California, and from that we spoke of the general educational system of our country. Facts tend to become commonplace, and we tend to lose sight of their importance when once they become ingrained into the life of the nation. Although

we talk a good deal about what the widespread education of this country means, I question if many of us deeply consider its meaning. From the lowest grade of the public school to the highest form of university training, education in this country is at the disposal of every man, every woman, who chooses to work for and obtain it. The State has done much, very much; witness this university. Private benefaction has done much, very much; witness also this university. (Applause.) And each one of us who has obtained an education has obtained something for which he or she has not personally paid. No matter what the school, what the university, every American who has a school training, a university training, has obtained something given to him outright by the State, or given to him by those dead or those living who were able to make provision for that training because of the protection of the State, because of existence within its borders. Each one of us then who has an education, school or college, has obtained something from the community at large for which he or she has not paid, and no self-respecting man or woman is content to rest permanently under such an obligation. Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full, in the shape of good citizenship. (Applause.) I do not ask of you, men and women here today, good citizenship as a favor to the State. I demand it of you as a right, and hold you recreant to your duty if you fail to give it. (Applause.)

Here you are in this university, in this State with its wonderful climate, which is going to permit to people of a Northern stock for the first time in the history of that Northern stock to gain education under physical circumstances, in physical surroundings, somewhat akin to those which surrounded the early Greeks. Here you have all those advantages and you are not to be excused if you do not show in tangible fashion your appreciation of them and your power to give practical effect to that appreciation. From all our citizens we have a right to expect good citizenship; but most of all from those who have received

DEDICATING MONUMENT, UNION SQUARE, MAY 14, 1903. ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF SAN FRANCISCO TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTORY OF THE AMERICAN NAVY AT MANILA BAY, MAY 1, 1898.

ON MAY 23, 1901, THE GROUND FOR THIS MONUMENT WAS BRØKEN BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

most; most of all from those who have had the training of body, of mind, of soul, which comes from association in and with a great university. To those to whom much has been given we have Biblical authority to expect and demand much in return; and the most that can be given to any man is education. I expect and demand in the name of the nation much more from you who have had training of the mind than from those of mere wealth. To the man of means much has been given, too, and much will be expected from him, and ought to be, but not as much as from you, because your possession is more valuable than his. (Applause.) If you envy him I think poorly of you. (Applause.) Envy is merely the meanest form of admiration, and a man who envies another admits thereby his own inferiority. We have a right to expect from the college bred man, the college bred woman, a proper sense of proportion, a proper sense of perspective, which will enable him or her to see things in their right relation one to another, and when thus seen while wealth will have a proper place, a just place, as an instrument for achieving happiness and power, for conferring happiness and power, it will not stand as high as much else in our national life. I ask you to take that not as a conventional statement from the university platform, but to test it by thinking of the men whom you admire in our past history and seeing what are the qualities which have made you admire them, what are the services they have rendered. For as President Wheeler said today, it is true now as it ever has been true that the greatest good fortune, the greatest honor, that can befall any man is that he shall serve, that he shall serve the nation, serve his people, serve mankind; and looking back in history the names that come up before us, the names to which we turn, the names of the men of our own people which stand as shining honor marks in our annals, the names of those men typifying qualities which rightly we should hold in reverence, are the names of the statesmen, of the soldiers, of the poets—the architects of our material prosperity also, but only also. (Applause.)

Of recent years I have been thrown in contact with a number

of college graduates doing good service to the country, and as I wish to make it perfectly evident what I mean by the kind of service which I should hope to have from you and which it seems to me worth while to render, I want to say just a word about two college graduates who have during the last five years rendered and are now rendering such services: Governor Taft in the Philippines, and Brigadier-General Leonard Wood, lately Governor of Cuba. (Applause.) When we acquired the Philippines and took possession for the time being of Cuba to train its people in citizenship, we assumed heavy responsibilities; so heavy that some very excellent people thought we ought to shirk them. I hold that a great and masterful people forfeits its title to greatness if it shirks any work because that work is difficult and responsible. (Applause.) The difficulty and responsibility impose upon us the high duty of doing the work well, but they in no way excuse us for refusing to do it. We had to do the work and the question came of the choice of instruments in doing it. The most important and most difficult task after the establishment of order by the army in the Philippines was the establishment of civil government therein; and second only in importance to that came the administration of Cuba, during the three years and over that elapsed before we were able to turn its government over to its own people and start it as a free republic. When tasks are all-important the most important factor in doing them right is the choice of the agents; and among the many debts of gratitude which this nation owes to President McKinley (applause), no debt is greater than the debt we owe him for the choice of his instruments, such a choice as that of Taft, such a choice as that of Wood. (Applause.) We sent Taft to the Philippines; we sent Wood to Cuba; both of them as tested by the standard of our commercial life, poor men; each man with little more than his salary to keep himself and his family; each man to handle millions upon millions of dollars, to have the power by mere conniving at what was improper to acquire untold wealth—and sent them knowing that we did not

ever have to consider whether such opportunities would be temptations toward them; sent them knowing that they had the ideals of the American college-bred man and that, therefore, we did not have to consider the chance of a possible temptation appealing to them.

Taft has gone to the Philippines to stay there; not only forfeiting thereby the certainty of brilliant rise in his profession on the bench or at the bar here if he had stayed, but at imminent risk to his own health, because he felt that his duty as an American made him go; that, as President McKinley told me of him, he had been drafted into the service of the country and he could not honorably refuse. (Applause.) We have seen in consequence the Philippine Islands administered by the American official who is at the head of the government and by his colleagues in the interest primarily of their people, and seeking to obtain for the United States, for the dominant race, that spent its blood and its treasure in making firm and stable the government of those islands—seeking to obtain for that dominant race only the reward that comes from the consciousness of duty well done. (Applause.) Under Taft, by and through his efforts, not only have peace and material well-being come to those islands to a degree never before known in their recorded history, and to a degree infinitely greater than had ever been dreamed possible by those who knew them best, but more than that, a greater measure of self-government has been given to them than is now given to any other Asiatic people under alien rule, than to any other Asiatic people under their own rulers, save Japan alone. That is an achievement of the past five years which I hold to be absolutely unparalleled in history; and when the debit and credit side of our national life is finally made up a long stroke shall be put to the credit side for what has been done in the Philippines under Taft and his associates.

In the same way Leonard Wood worked in Cuba. Put down there to do an absolutely new task, to take a people of a different race, a different speech, a different creed, a people just emerging

from the hideous welter of a war, cruel and sanguinary, beyond what we in this fortunate country cannot readily conceive, to take a people down in the depths of poverty, in the depths of misery, just recovering from suffering which it makes one shudder to think of, a people untrained utterly and absolutely in self-government, and fit them for it; and he did it. For three years he worked. He established a school system as good as the best that we have in any of our States. He cleaned cities which had never been cleaned in their existence before. He secured absolute safety for life and property. He did the kind of governmental work which should be the undying honor of our people forever. And he came home to what? He came home to be thanked by a few, to be attacked by others—not to their credit—and to have as his real reward the sense that though his work had been done at pecuniary sacrifice to him, that though the demands upon him had been such as to eat into his private means, yet he had worthily and well done his duty as an American citizen and reflected honor, fresh honor, upon the uniform of the United States army. (Applause.)

I have chosen Taft and Wood simply as examples, simply as instances of what other men by the hundred have done, Americans who have graduated from no college, Americans who have graduated from all our different colleges, and especially by practically all those Americans who have graduated from the two great typical American institutions of learning—West Point and Annapolis. Taft and Wood and their fellows are spending or have spent the best years of their prime in doing a work which means to them pecuniary loss, at the best a bare livelihood while they are doing it, and are doing it gladly because they realize the truth that the highest privilege that can be given to any man is the privilege of serving his country, his fellow-Americans. (Applause.) As I am speaking to an audience with proper ideals, when I say that Taft and Wood have done all this service to their pecuniary loss, I am holding them up not for pity—for envy. The least mean form of envy is the

envy of the man who does such work as they do. Every one here, every man, every woman, should feel it incumbent upon him or her to welcome with joy the chance to render service to the country, service to our people at large, and to accept the rendering of the service as in itself ample repayment therefor. Do not misunderstand me. The average man, the average woman must earn his or her living in one way or another, and I most emphatically do not advise any one to decline to do the humdrum, everyday duties because there may come a chance for the display of heroism. Let me just tell you one anecdote, then I am through. When I raised my regiment prior to going to Cuba we had recruits from every portion of the country in it, some of them without a very clear idea of what was ahead of them. I had one young man, full of enthusiasm, who about the third day came to me and said: "Colonel, I came down here to fight for my country; they have treated me like a serf; they have put me to burying a dead horse." (Laughter.) At that moment his Captain, who was a large man from New Mexico, and not wholly sympathetic, came up and explained to him that he would go right on burying that dead horse and that the next task ahead of him was digging kitchen sinks; and if he did all that well we would attend to the hero business later.

I ask of you the straightforward, earnest performance of duty in all the little things that come up day by day in business, in domestic life, in every way, and then when the opportunity comes, if you have thus done your duty in the lesser things, I know you will rise level to the heroic needs. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

MAY 14, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MEN AND WOMEN OF OAKLAND:

It has been a great pleasure to come into your beautiful city (applause); and it could not but stir any man's heart to be greeted as you have greeted me. (Applause.) I am glad indeed to see you, to see the men, the women, and the children. (Applause.) As I drove through your beautiful streets I passed by one house where there was a large family party assembled, and they had a strip of bunting and printed on it were the words: "No Race Suicide Here;" and I got up and bowed my acknowledgments and congratulations. I have been delighted, passing through your streets, to be greeted by the children. They seem all right in quality and all right in quantity. (Applause.)

My fellow-citizens, I have enjoyed to the utmost my stay in California, my visits to its greatest cities; I have appreciated your wonderful scenery, your wonderful climate; but most of all have I enjoyed meeting your men and women. It is a great thing to have such agricultural products, such industrial prosperity, as I have seen here; but it is a greater thing to have the right type of citizenship. (Applause.)

In thanking all of you for your greeting I am sure that the others will not mind my saying a special word of greeting to two sets of men—first of all to the service men of the Spanish-American War. (Applause.) I came aboard to be ferried over your bay today on the dock from which the great majority of our soldiers went to the Philippines. I have seen by the shores of this bay the place where the Eighth Corps was assembled, the Eighth Corps which numbered successively almost a hundred

Boarding the Torpedo Boat Destroyer "Paul Jones," Oakland Harbor, May 14, 1903, en route to U. S. Navy Yard, Mare Island.

thousand men, so many of whom came from your own Coast, your own State. As I saw my escort, the service men of the Spanish War, marching in the familiar gray campaign hat, blue shirt, khaki trousers and leggings, I was glad that I had the right of comradeship with them (applause), and that I was one of those to whom by good fortune it was given to have the chance to show that at least we desired to do as the men of the great war had done from '61 to '65. Wherever I have been in California I have been greeted by men who wear the button that shows that, like the chief executive of this city, in the times that tried men's souls they were true to their ideals. (Applause.) Now I greet you here. I have not got much to say to you, because since I have been in California I have felt a good deal more like learning than teaching; indeed, my fellow-citizens, there have been moments when I have felt that the only thing that marred my visit was the fact that I had to speak. But I am glad to say just this word to you, to greet you, to express the pleasure it has been to me to come here, and finally to say this: I have come from the Atlantic across the continent to the Pacific; I have come from the East through the West, beyond the West, to California (applause); for California stands by itself; and from one end of this country to the other, addressing any audience, I have felt absolutely at home; I have felt that I was speaking to men and women who felt as I did and thought as I did, to whom I could appeal with the certainty of being understood; because wherever I have spoken I have addressed audiences like this, audiences composed of Americans and nothing else. (Cheers and applause.)

Great is your State, oh my fellow-citizens; great is your State, men and women of California, and a great thing it is to be a Californian; but it is even a greater thing to be what all of us are—Americans, the citizens of the greatest republic upon which the sun has ever shone. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS TO THE SERVICE MEN OF THE SPANISH WAR, WHO ACTED AS HIS ESCORT AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

MAY 14, 1903

Afloat and ashore, nothing could have pleased me more than to have you turn out to be my escort today; to see the familiar gray hat, blue shirt, khaki trousers and leggings, I feel as if I was at home with you. I see men who served in the cavalry (I was a yellow-leg myself), infantry and artillery. I wish to state that it made me proud as I looked at you, and I appreciate your coming out, and now, as each one of you goes back into civil life, let you and me resolve that we will do our part, in the first place to see that the standard of citizenship is kept up, and in the next place that the average American citizen understands what a good man our brother, the army and navy man, officer and enlisted man of the regular service, was and is. (Cheers.)

REMARKS TO THE VETERANS WHO ESCORTED HIM TO THE DOCK AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

MAY 14, 1903

MY COMRADES OF THE GREAT WAR:

I wish to thank you for the privilege. These are the only bodies of men to whom it gives me even greater pleasure to pay greeting than to my own comrades of the lesser war. Pleased though I was to have the service men of the war parade as my escort, looking so familiar in the uniform that I knew so well, yet it is an even greater pleasure to be greeted by you whose example we endeavored to follow, and the memories of whose deeds must forever be to all Americans a source of inspiration to duty, whether it be in war or in peace. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE Y. M. C. A. AUXILIARY CLUBHOUSE, VALLEJO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 14, 1903

MRS. MCCALLA, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I am glad to have the chance of taking part in these ceremonies, for no worthier object can be striven after than the creation of a building such as this for the benefit of those to whom every American owes so much—the enlisted men of the United States navy. (Cheers and applause.) I wish here to relate something told me yesterday by Secretary Moody, which shows the spirit that actuates the men of our navy. In visiting the hospital at Mare Island yesterday Secretary Moody found that there was a little library of two hundred standard novels, and a sum of money with interest amounting to $30 a year to be spent on magazines, all for the use of the patients, for the use of the enlisted men in that hospital, and he found that that was due to the action of a man now dead, who had served twenty-five years in the United States navy, had become a boatswain, and when he died had left all his small savings to be thus devoted in perpetuity to the use of his fellows who should need the hospital thereafter. His name was Alexander White, and Secretary Moody told me he intended to find out where he was buried and put a fitting stone over him if he had to pay for it himself. (Applause.) That is the spirit of devotion to the flag and the country, and to one's fellows which the United States navy develops.

I wish to take this opportunity of thanking the men who work in the Navy Yard for the quality of the work that they do.

(Cheers and applause.) It has been a pleasure to hear from Admiral Miller as we came up on the torpedo boat the kind of service rendered by those engaged in the actual labor in the yard. I want to emphasize what we can never over-emphasize, that the credit for any victory must lie exactly as much with those who prepare for it as with those who win it. (Applause.)

Today I have dedicated the monument to those who won the battle of Manila Bay. That monument is in reality dedicated just as much to the men who in any degree helped make ready the ships for that battle, to the Congressmen who voted the appropriations; and those who did not, by the way, have no right to any share whatever in the credit attached to the nation for that day, to the Congressmen who voted the appropriations, to the Cabinet officials and their subordinates, the heads of the bureaus in the Navy Department, under whom and in accordance with the directions of whom the money was expended, the owners of the private shipyards, to the men who worked in the private shipyards and to the men who worked in the national shipyards, any man who did his part at any stage in preparing the hulls, the engines, the armor, the guns of those ships, and all men who took part in training the crews aboard them, the men in the engine rooms, the men at the guns, in fitting them for service, to all alike some portion of the credit of the victory is due. Let me repeat what I said this morning. I am glad that we have the chance to erect a monument to commemorate a naval victory of the United States, and let us see to it that our children have the chance to erect a similar monument, should the need arise, in their turn. In other words, let us see to it that the work of building up the United States navy goes on without a halt. (Cheers and applause.)

I thank those who have provided for the building of this institution. When a war comes I think a heavier burden is laid upon the women whose sons and husbands, fathers and lovers have gone to the war than upon the men who go. It was cer-

tainly so in the Civil War, where the woman was left at home with the breadwinner gone, to face often need as well as the anxiety for his safety; and it is but a further debt we owe now for the building of institutions of this kind. They do incalculable good. I do not know of anything that has done, any one work of benevolence of the same extent which was better worth doing than that done by Miss Helen Gould when she erected a building similar to this in the New York Navy Yard; and I am glad to have had the chance of laying the corner stone of this building today. I thank you for coming to greet me. I thank especially my own comrades of the Spanish-American War, those who fought in that war, and those by whose example we profited—the men of the Great War, the men who have left to this country a heritage of honor and glory forever. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE BANQUET TENDERED HIM BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 14, 1903

MR. TOASTMASTER, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB: (Cheers and applause.)

Let me say in all sincerity, Mr. Davis, that you have expressed far better than I could express (and I mean it) what I hold to be essential in American citizenship. (Applause.) It was a privilege, sir, to be greeted by you as you have greeted me tonight. No one can too strongly insist upon the elementary fact that you cannot build the superstructure of public virtue save on private virtue. (Applause.) The sum of the parts is the whole, and if we wish to make that whole, the State, decent, the representative and exponent and symbol of decency, it must be so made through the decency, public and private, of the average citizen. Mr. Davis was quite safe in saying he hoped I had enjoyed my stay in San Francisco. I should indeed be ungrateful, unappreciative, if I were not deeply touched and moved by the way in which the people of San Francisco have received me; and I have enjoyed to the full the two days and a half I have spent here. I have enjoyed it all and I have enjoyed no part more, General MacArthur, than my ride down the line, reviewing the troops with you. (Applause.)

Californians are good Americans, and therefore it is not necessary to appeal to them on behalf of the army and the navy. (Applause.) I shall not detain you long this evening. I am promised by Colonel Pippy the chance, after my speech, of meeting and shaking hands with each of you, in the rooms of the Club. (Cheers and applause.) I have just got two thoughts,

not connected together, to which I want to give utterance tonight; one suggested by something that Mr. Davis said.

It is absolutely essential, if we are to have the proper standard of public life, that promise shall be square with performance. A lie is no more to be excused in politics than out of politics. (Cheers and applause, long continued.)

A promise is as binding on the stump as off the stump, and there are two facets to that crystal. In the first place, the man who makes a promise which he does not intend to keep and does not try to keep should rightly be adjudged to have forfeited in some degree what should be every man's most precious possession—his honor. (Applause.) On the other hand, the public that exacts a promise which ought not to be kept, or which cannot be kept, is by just so much forfeiting its right to self-government. (Applause.) There is no surer way of destroying the capacity for self-government in a people than to accustom that people to demanding the impossible or the improper from its public men. No man fit to be a public man will promise either the impossible or the improper; and if the demand is made that he shall do so it means putting a premium upon the unfit in public life. (Great applause.)

There is the same sound reason for distrusting the man who promises too much in public that there is for distrusting the man who promises too much in private business. If you meet a doctor who asserts that he has a specific remedy that will cure all the ills to which human flesh is heir, distrust him. He hasn't got it. If you meet the business man who vociferates that he is always selling everything to you at a loss, and you continue to deal with him, I am glad if you suffer for it. (Applause.) Any man who promises as a result of legislation or administration the millennium is making a promise which he will find difficulty in keeping. Any man who asserts that by any law it will be possible, out of hand, to make all humanity good and wise, is again promising what he cannot perform. It is indispensable that we should have good laws and upright and

honest and fearless administration of the laws; and we are not to be excused if we fail to hold our public men to a rigid accountability if they fail, in their turn, to see that we have proper legislation and proper administration. No public man worth his salt will be other than glad to be held accountable in that fashion. (Applause.)

But important though the law is, though the administration of the law is, we can never escape having to face the fundamental truth that neither begins to be of the decisive importance that the average individual's character is. In the last analysis it is the man's own character which is and must ever be the determining factor in his success or failure in life (applause), and therefore in the last analysis it is the average character of the average citizenship of a nation which will in the long run determine whether that nation is to go up or down. (Applause.)

The one indispensable thing for us to keep is a high standard of character for the average American citizen. (Applause.)

Now for my unrelated second thought, and that is to reiterate something that I said this morning. I had the very great pleasure of dedicating the monument to Dewey's fleet for its victory at Manila. (Applause.) We today were enjoying the aftermath of the triumph, due in part to what Dewey and his officers and men did on the first day of May, five years ago, and in even greater part to what those men did who in the past fifteen years had prepared for the winning of that triumph. (Applause.) I have very great confidence in the capacity of our average soldier or sailor to turn out well, to do admirably when put to the supreme test. But the best man alive, if untrained, if unfitly armed, may be beaten by a poorer man who has had the training and the arms. (Applause.) There is nothing more foolish, nothing less dignified than to indulge in boastfulness, in self-glorification as to the capacity of our soldiers and sailors while denying them the material which we are in honor bound to give them in order that their splendid natural qualities shall be fitly supplemented. (Cheers and applause.) I have seen our people

send American volunteers against a European soldiery, that European soldiery armed with the finest type of modern rifle and ours with an old black-powder weapon, which was about as effective as a medieval cross bow; and those who failed to prepare the proper weapons for our people are not to be thanked, because by making drafts of an extraordinary kind upon the other good qualities of the American soldier, we escaped disaster. (Applause.)

And who were those who failed to prepare? It is very easy and worse than foolish, it is wicked, to hold the people who at the moment are obliged to use those weapons responsible when the real responsibility lay with the representatives of our people and our people themselves for failing to make the preparation in advance. (Applause.)

The business of finding a scapegoat to send loose into the wilderness is neither honorable nor dignified for a self-respecting people to be engaged in. (Applause.) We commemorated today by a monument a great naval victory. We commemorated thereby the foresight, the prudence of the public men, of the great business men, of the shipwrights, the men who worked physically at the armor, the guns, the engines, the hulls, in getting the fleet ready; and, more than that, we commemorated the men who trained that fleet in readiness. Many an officer who was retired before the Spanish War came is entitled to his full share of the credit for what was done in that war, although he never saw it, because he had done his part in actual sea service in training the men to handle the mighty and delicate weapons of war intrusted to their care. (Applause.)

Every public man who by his vote helped to make efficient that navy, every business man, every wage-worker, who did honest work on the ships, and every representative of the navy, officer or enlisted man, who in the years before the war faithfully did his duty aboard the ships in fitting crew and ship for the test of war, is entitled to a portion of the credit of the victory in Manila Bay. (Applause.)

So it is with the army. I believe—no, I am not going to boast, and so I am going to say a little less than I think—I shall shift the form of my sentence and say that I have entire confidence in the average officer and average enlisted man in the army of the United States (cheers and applause) if only he is given any kind of a fair chance, but give him good weapons, and give him a chance to handle them and to handle himself so as to be prepared for war. The best man alive, if he is given no chance to practice, cannot be expected when first put to a test to show his abilities at their best. Give us a chance to handle our men in masses in time of peace. Remember that if you scatter the army in fifties or hundreds all over the country, you must expect as inevitable, and as not in the least blameworthy on the part of the army, trouble, when you come to gather them together as an army and to send them into a foreign country. (Applause.)

Give our army a chance, or even half a chance, to practice in time of peace the performance of its proper function in time of war, and I can guarantee that the American people will ever in the future have the same cause that they have had in the past to be proud of the army and navy of the United States. (Cheers and applause, long continued.)

REMARKS AT RAYMOND, CALIFORNIA

MAY 15, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I did not realize that I was to meet you today, still less to address an audience such as this! and I had only come prepared to go into the Yosemite with John Muir, so I must ask you to excuse my costume. (Cries of "It is all right!") I have enjoyed so much seeing Southern California and San Francisco that I felt my trip would be incomplete if I did not get up into your beautiful country and then see the Yosemite. Before I came on this trip I was inclined to grumble because I found we were giving relatively four times as much time to California as to any other State. Now I feel that we did not give it half enough. It ought to have been eight times instead of four times. I have enjoyed being here. I have never been on the Pacific Coast before. For a number of years I lived in the Rockies. I was in the cow business in those days. Great though my pleasure has been in seeing your wonderful soil, your wonderful climate, your fruits and flowers, your extraordinary and beautiful natural products, yet what I have liked most has been meeting the men and women, and finding that the fundamental fact throughout this country is that wherever you go, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a good American is a good American, and nothing else. (Applause.) Here, as everywhere that I have been in California, I am greeted by men who wear the button which shows that in the times that tried men's souls they proved their truth by their endeavor. As they then belonged to different regiments, doubtless raised in different States, but fought for one flag and one country, so now wherever we are citizens, in the East, in the West, or here beyond the West,

in California, wherever we are citizens, our duties are the same; our duty is to lead our lives in a spirit of decency, of courage and of common sense, that will make us fit to be citizens of this great republic. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT BERENDA, CALIFORNIA

MAY 18, 1903

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I am glad to have the chance of saying a word to you of this wonderful and fertile valley, the San Joaquin Valley (cheers and applause); and even glimpses I have got of it have made me appreciate its fertility. I am glad that the soil and the climate here are such as to give us that indispensable base of material prosperity, the foundation upon which we must rest, but, gentlemen and ladies, the thing that pleases me most, even more than the crops, is the men and women I meet. (Applause.) I believe in your future, because I believe in you—not only in the climate and the soil. You can take the best climate and the best soil and put a poor, shiftless, trifling creature on the soil and you do not get any results. To take advantage of the greatest opportunities you must have the men. I fail to see how any public man cannot believe in the future of this country after he has gone, as I have gone, from one side of the continent to the other, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and has met audiences everywhere to whom he can appeal in the name of the fundamental virtues of American citizenship, fundamental virtues that go to make up good men and good women everywhere, and have gone to make them up since time began. I believe not in brilliancy, not in genius, I believe in the ordinary, humdrum, work-a-day virtues that make a man a good man in his family, a good neighbor, a good man to deal with in business, a good man to deal with in the State, and when you have got a man with those characteristics in him you have a man who if the need comes will rise level to that need. There are any number of different kinds of work that we have to do, all of which have to

be done. There is the work of the farmer, the work of the business man, the work of the skilled mechanic, the work of the men to whom I owe my safety every day and every night—the work of the railroad men; the work of the lawyer, the work of the sailor, the work of the soldier, the work in ten thousand ways; it is all good work; it does not make any difference what work the man is doing if he does it well. If the man is a slack, shiftless creature I wish we could get rid of him. He is of no use. In every occupation you will find some men whom you will have to carry. You cannot do much with them. Every one of us will stumble at times, and shame to the man who does not at such times stretch out a helping hand, but if the man lies down you cannot carry him to any permanent use. What I would plead for is that we recognize that fact, that we bring up our children to work, so that each respects the other. I do not care whether a man is a banker or a bricklayer; if he is a good banker or a good bricklayer he is a good citizen; if he is dishonest, if he is tricky, if he shirks his job or tries to cheat his neighbor, be he great or small, be he the poor man cheating the rich man, or the rich man oppressing the poor man, in either case he is a bad citizen. I thank you and want to say what a pleasure it has been to see you here this evening. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT MERCED, CALIFORNIA

MAY 18, 1903

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am glad to have the chance of stopping here to greet you, and to say how much I have enjoyed my trip up in your mountains and my whole trip through California. It has been the greatest possible pleasure to get out here. I have enjoyed seeing the mountains; I have enjoyed seeing your scenery; I have enjoyed witnessing the wonderful products of your climate and soil; but what I have enjoyed most has been the chance to see the men and women of California. (Cheers.)

At Dunsmuir, California, May 20, 1903.

REMARKS AT MODESTO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 18, 1903

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am very glad to catch this glimpse of you. I have passed four delightful days in your mountains up there in the Yosemite and I cannot say how much I have enjoyed them, but I have enjoyed even more my entire trip through California and the courtesy and hospitality with which I have been received. It has been a great pleasure to me to come from the East to the West, then west of the West to California, and to see your wonderful State. And while I have enjoyed it all, enjoyed seeing the soil and the climate, enjoyed witnessing the abounding prosperity that you have succeeded in making, the thing that I have enjoyed most has been seeing the men and women, the citizens of California, for that is what counts most in the long run. The soil and the climate will not count for anything if the people have not got it in them to take advantage of the soil and climate. I think I came to California a middling good American and I will go away a better American. It has been the greatest pleasure to see you all. (Applause.)

ADDRESS AT TRUCKEE, CALIFORNIA

MAY 19, 1903

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I want to thank you for coming out to greet me. Most of all, I wish to thank the men of the Grand Army who are present. It has been a peculiarly pleasant thing wherever I have been in California to be greeted by some of those men to whose actions we owe it that there is now a common country of ours or a President over it. (Applause.) It has always seemed to me that we should profit by the lessons that they taught, not merely in war, but in peace. In speaking to you here in this great and wonderful State of California, with its marvelously diversified industries, with its irrigated agriculture in the south, with its agriculture carried on in ordinary fashion in the north, its pasturage, its mines, its commerce, its manufactures, its wonderful railroad development, I speak to a community which has risen and gone forward because of the type of character, the type of manhood and womanhood among its sons and daughters.

The lesson to be learned from the men of the Civil War is the lesson of resolute endeavor for a worthy cause. I would not preach to any man the life of ease, the life of safety only. Instead of the life of ease I preach to all worthy to be called men, the life of work, the life of endeavor, and instead of the life of safety I preach the doctrine that teaches us now as it taught the men of the Civil War, that there are times when safety is the last thing to be considered. (Applause.) Here in America, throughout our country, what we need are the virtues of the pioneers, and among the pioneers I put high the pioneers of the churches who went hand in hand to do the work of the Lord with their fellow-men. You need various qualities to

make a State great, a nation great, just as you needed those qualities to make an army great. No one of them will suffice. In the first place, you must have the base of morality, of decency, love of country, love of friends, the quality that makes a man a good father, a good neighbor, a decent citizen. You need that first, just as in the Civil War you needed to have patriotism first, love of country, the spirit that drove you to think nothing of ease, nothing of comfort, but to go out to do the work of the nation when that nation called, when Abraham Lincoln summoned you to battle; but that was not enough. I do not care how patriotic a man was, if he ran away you could do nothing with him. It is the same way here in civil life. I wish a man to be decent, a square man, a fair dealing man, but he has got to be a man also or you cannot do much with him. He has got to have courage, hardihood, power to work, power to hold his own, to do whatever his hands find to do, he has got to have that or he will not amount to much. He has got to have it in him to make his own way or he is a weakling and will fall by the wayside. In addition to the qualities of decency, of honesty, there must be the qualities of manliness, of hardihood, the qualities that sent the pioneers across the trackless wastes, the quality that sends the soldier to battle, the quality that makes a man discontented and ill at ease if he cannot do his work well on the farm, in the shops, wherever his work is. You need those and you need something in addition, for I do not care how brave a man is, how honest he is, if he is a fool you can do nothing with him. He needs the saving grace of common sense to help him out, to make his work count.

There is another lesson taught by the men who wore the blue—the lesson of brotherhood; brotherhood in its broadest sense; brotherhood that does not recognize the difference of sections and that recognizes just as little the difference of class, that treats a man on his worth as a man, and if he is square stands by him; if he is not square is against him, and recognizes other distinctions as accidental, not fundamental. One lesson of

that brotherhood is the self-respect that respects others. In the army, from the lieutenant-general down to the last newly enlisted recruit, the thing that concerned you was how the man did his duty in his place, and not what that place was. There are in this country a thousand different shapes of work. We have got to do them all, and we can do them well only if we recognize the need that each work should be well done; whether the man is a business man, a lawyer, a farmer, a railroad man, a mechanic, matters nothing. What matters is, does he do his work and his duty well? Is he a square man and a brave man, a good citizen, a good neighbor, a man whom you are glad to have associate with you as an American? If he is, he is a good citizen and entitled to honor; if he is not, I care not whether he be high or low in social standing or in wealth, he is a bad citizen and a curse to the State. All kinds of honorable work entitle those following them to honor. For the last few weeks and for the next few, every minute and every hour my safety depends upon how the railroad men do their work. Naturally, I take a peculiar interest in them. But we must take the same interest in all men who do their work well. If a man does his duty he is a good citizen and we should be proud of him.

Just let me ask you one word especially to the railroad men. I recollect the last time I ever met General Sherman he told me that if he had to raise an army composed purely of one class he would take railroad men because they developed four or five qualities that counted more than anything else, qualities of taking risks, of irregular hours (so that to be up at night does not strike them with horror), of accepting responsibility, and yet of obeying orders, and obeying them at once, not wondering whether to turn the switch then or later, but turning it then, and in consequence the men who have had that training will make good soldiers, and when you make a really good soldier you will make a good citizen. We cannot all be railroad men, but we can all be good citizens and show the same type of quality.

LAYING CORNER-STONE, MARINE HOSPITAL, VALLEJO, CALIFORNIA, MAY 14, 1903.

BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

I am glad to see all of you, but perhaps I am most glad to see the children. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT COLFAX, CALIFORNIA

MAY 19, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, MY FELLOW-AMERICANS (applause), MEN AND WOMEN OF PLACER COUNTY:

It is the greatest pleasure to have caught even a glimpse of the miners here. I do not have to preach to you. You practice what I preach, and I hope I do myself, too. (Laughter.) You in your lives here have done the things which it makes all of us proud as Americans to have done. We do not believe here in this republic in the men who seek only the life of ease, the life of absence of effort. We believe in the men who face toil, who face risk, who dare, who do and who triumph because they have done it. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT AUBURN, CALIFORNIA

MAY 19, 1903

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I thank you most heartily for your kindness in coming to greet me, and I am so pleased to see you, men and women of Placer County. I have enjoyed to the full my visit to California. I have been astonished and delighted with your extraordinary success in so many different types of industries—mining, agriculture of so many kinds, manufacturing, your wonderful commerce. It is particularly a pleasure to be in a State already great, and yet with an infinitely greater future before it. But pleased though I am to see your abounding material prosperity, the products of your soil, the thing I am most pleased with is you yourselves, the men and women. It has been a great pleasure to have caught this glimpse of you. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT THE PARK, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 19, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MEN AND WOMEN OF SACRAMENTO, AND TO YOU, THE CHILDREN:

I am particularly glad to see the children this afternoon. I want to say a word to the teachers. There is no body of men and women in all our country to whom so much is owing as to those who are training the next generation, because it is the merest truism to say that the next generation determines the fate of this country. It is a great thing to have such commerce, such industry, such manufactures, such agriculture, as I have seen evidences of here in California; but the important thing, after all, is the quality of the citizenship. (Applause.) Therefore, the future of the State depends not upon what is material, for that you can produce if you have the heart, the hand, and the head to do it; it depends upon the quality of heart, hand and head in the average American. That is what counts. Therefore a peculiar debt is owing to those who are educating the boys and girls of today, who will be the men and women of tomorrow, and upon whom we must depend to keep alive the traditions of our citizenship.

I greet with pleasure you boys and girls, and you of the high school, you who in not many years will have to take upon yourselves the duties that come with full growth of body and mind. I am going to repeat to you one bit of advice which I have already given, advice to the young, which applies also to the old. I believe in play and I believe in work. I believe in having a good time, provided it does not interfere with your doing the work there is to do. Play hard while you play, and when you work do not play at all.

It has given me the keenest pleasure to witness tonight this wonderful gathering in this beautiful place. I have come from the Atlantic across this continent to the Pacific, and in meeting the different bodies of my fellow-citizens one thing has struck me particularly, and that is the essential unity of our people. East or West, North or South, by the Atlantic, in the great valley of the Mississippi, among the Rockies, and here beside the greatest of all the oceans, wherever I meet a body of our people I meet men and women to whom I can appeal as Americans, and nothing else. I greet you. I thank you for coming. I am proud of you, proud to be your fellow-citizen. I believe in you with all my heart and I believe that the century that is opening contains the promise of the greatest achievement for this nation that any nation has ever enjoyed since the dim days when history dawned. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS TO THE SACRAMENTO SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 19, 1903

I wish to thank you and the members of the Sacramento Society of California Pioneers. Of course, the members of your society must ever feel not merely a particular interest in, but a part in the development of this State such as no other can have. To you it was given in the heroic days to do the great deeds by which this republic was made in very truth the mistress of the two great oceans, for such she shall be in the years to come. It was following your guidance that our people conquered this continent and made it the base for this mighty and wonderful nation, a nation mighty in its past, mightier yet in the possibility that the looming future holds for it. I thank you most heartily and appreciate particularly the courtesy of you and your fellow-members. (Cheers and applause.)

ADDRESS AT THE CAPITOL BUILDING, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

MAY 19, 1903

MR. MAYOR, AND YOU, MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is a great pleasure to have the chance of meeting you here in the capital city of your wonderful State. (Applause.) In greeting all of you I know that the others will not grudge my saying a special word of acknowledgment to those whose mettle rang true on war's red touchstone, to the men to whom we owe it that we have tonight one country or that there is a President to speak to you—(applause)—the men of the Grand Army, the veterans of the great war. I wish also to express at this time my acknowledgments to my escort, the National Guard, many of them my comrades in the lesser war of '98. (Laughter and applause.) You see, in '98 we had a difficulty from which you were wholly free in '61, because with us there was not enough war to go around. (Applause.)

I have enjoyed to the full my visit to California. I have come across the continent from the East to the West, and now beyond the West to California, for California stands by itself. (Applause.) I have enjoyed every hour of my stay here. I have just come from a four days' rest in the Yosemite, and I wish to say one word to you here in the capital city of California about certain of your great natural resources, your forests and the water supply coming from the streams that find their sources among the forests of the mountains.

California possesses a wonderful climate, a wonderful soil, and throughout the portions that I have visited it is literally astounding to see how the land yields a hundred and a thousand fold when water is put upon it. And where it is possible to irrigate the land the result is, of course, far better than having to

depend upon rainfall anywhere, but no small part of the prosperity of California in the hotter and drier agricultural regions depends upon the preservation of her water supply; and the water supply cannot be preserved unless the forests are preserved. (Applause.) As regards some of the trees, I want them preserved because they are the only things of their kind in the world. Lying out at night under those giant Sequoias was lying in a temple built by no hand of man, a temple grander than any human architect could by any possibility build, and I hope for the preservation of the groves of giant trees simply because it would be a shame to our civilization to let them disappear. They are monuments in themselves. I ask for the preservation of the other forests on grounds of wise and far-sighted economic policy. I do not ask that lumbering be stopped at all. On the contrary, I ask that the forests be kept for use in lumbering, only that they be so used that not only shall we here, this generation, get the benefit for the next few years, but that our children and our children's children shall get the benefit. In California I am impressed by how great the State is, but I am even more impressed by the immensely greater greatness that lies in the future, and I ask that your marvelous natural resources be handed on unimpaired to your posterity. (Applause.) We are not building this country of ours for a day. It is to last through the ages. We stand on the threshold of a new century. We look into the dim years that rise before us, knowing that if we are true that the generations that succeed us here shall fall heir to a heritage such as has never been known before. I ask that we keep in mind not only our own interests, but the interests of our children. Any generation fit to do its work must work for the future, for the people of the future, as well as for itself. You, men of the Civil War, fought from '61 to '65 for the Union of that day; yes, and for the Union that was to stand while nations stand in the hereafter. (Applause.) You fought to make the flag that had been rent asunder once more whole and without a seam and to float over you and to float over all who come

In Yosemite.

after you likewise. You fought for the future; you fought for the looming greatness of the republic in the centuries that were to come, and now I ask that we, in fulfilling the duties of citizenship, keep our gaze fixed likewise on the days that are to come after us. You are building here this great State within whose bounds lies an area as great as an Old World empire, a State with a commerce already vast, but with a commerce which within the century that has now opened shall cover and dominate the entire Pacific Ocean. (Applause.) You are building your factories, you are tilling the fields; business man, professional man, farmer, wage-worker, all here in this State see a future of unknown possibilities opening before them.

I earnestly ask that you see to it that your resources, by use, are perpetuated for the use of the peoples yet unborn. Use them, but in using, keep and preserve them. Keep the waters; keep the forests; use your lands as you use your bays, your harbors, as you use the cities here, so that by the very fact of the use they will become more valuable as possessions.

I have spoken of the material things, of the things which are indispensable as the foundation, the base of national greatness. We must care for the body first. We must see to it that our tremendous industrial development goes on, that the well-being continues; that the soil yields its wealth in the future as it has in the past, aye, and tenfold more. We cannot for one moment afford to underestimate the vital importance of that material well-being, of the prosperity which we so abundantly enjoy, but I ask also that you remember the things of the mind and the soul as well as the body. Nothing has struck me more in going through California than the interest you are paying to the cause of education, than the way in which your citizens evidently realize that upon the proper training of the children, of those who are to be the men and women of a score of years hence, depends the ultimate welfare of the republic. Let me draw a lesson from you, the men of the Civil War. You needed strong bodies, you needed the supplies, the arms, but more than all, you needed

the hearts that drove the bodies into battle. What distinguished our men was the spirit that drove them onward to effort and to strife, onward into action, onward through the march, through the long months of waiting in camp, onward through the fiery ordeal of battle, when men's souls were winnowed out as before the judgment seat. You then rose level to the duty that was before you because of the spirit that burned within your breasts, because you had in you the capacity of generous enthusiasm for the lofty ideal, because you realized that there was something above the body and greater than the body. And now, my fellows, men and women of California, men and women of the American Union, I ask throughout this country that our people keep in their hearts the capacity of devotion to what stands above mere bodily welfare, to the welfare of the spirit, of the mind, of the soul. I ask that we have strong bodies, well cared for, well clothed, well housed. I ask for what is better than a strong body, a sane mind. And I ask finally for what counts for more than body, for more than mind, for character; character which in the last analysis tells most in settling the welfare of either a nation or an individual; character into which many elements enter, but three, above all; in the first place, as a foundation, decency, honesty, morality, the quality that makes a man a good husband, a good neighbor, a man who deals fairly and squarely with those about him, who does his duty to those around him and to the State; and that is not enough. Decency and honesty are not enough. Just as in the Civil War you needed patriotism first, but it made no matter how patriotic a man was, if he ran away you could do nothing with him. (Applause.) So in civic life you must have decency and honesty, for without them ability makes a man only the more dangerous to his fellows, the greater force for evil. Just again as in the Civil War, if the man did not have in him the capacity of loyalty to his fellows, loyalty to his regiment, loyalty to the flag, if he did not have in him that capacity, the abler he was the worse he was to have in the army. So it is now in civil life; the abler

a man is, if he has not the root of righteousness in him the more dangerous a foe to decent government he is, and we shall never rise level to the needs of our nation until we make it understood that the scoundrel who succeeds is to be hunted down by public opinion, by the condemnation and scorn of his fellows, exactly as we hunt down the weaker scoundrel who fails. (Applause.) But that is not enough. Decency and honesty are a basis, but that is all. I do not care how moral a man is, if his morality is only good while he sits at home in his own parlor, you can do nothing with him. Scant is the use we have for the timid good. In the war you needed patriotism, and then you needed the fighting edge. You had to have that. So in civil life we need the spirit of decency, of honesty, and then, in addition, the quality of courage, of hardihood, of manliness, that makes a man fit to go out into the hurly-burly and do a man's work in the world. That must come, too; and that is not enough. I do not care how moral a man is and how brave he is, if he is a natural born fool you can do nothing with him. I ask, then, for decency as the foundation, for courage and manliness thereon, and finally, in addition to both, I ask for common sense as the moderator and guide of both. (Applause.)

My fellow-countrymen, I believe in you; I believe in your future; I believe in the future of the American republic, because I believe that the average American citizen has in him just those qualities—the quality of honesty, the quality of courage, and the quality of common sense. While we keep in the community the power of adherence to a lofty ideal and at the same time the power to attempt its realization by practical methods, we can be sure that our progress in the future will be even more rapid than our progress has been in the past, and that in the century now opening, in the centuries that succeed it, this country, already the greatest republic upon which the sun has ever shone, will attain a position of prominence in the world's history that will dwarf into insignificance all that has ever been done before. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT REDDING, CALIFORNIA

MAY 20, 1903

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is a great pleasure to see you to-day. This is to be my last day in California, and I leave the State with the liveliest appreciation of the courtesy with which I have been received, and with memories which I shall ever keep of the pleasant days I have had within your borders. I have seen pretty much all the State from the ocean up to the Sierras and into them; I have come from the south and am leaving at the northern end; and I am impressed, as every man must be, with what our nation is to have within its borders a State such as this, a State in resources and size the equal to many an Old World empire. (Applause.) I have enjoyed everything, seeing your farms, your ranches, your cities, noting the diversification of your industries, seeing the products of the ranch, of the irrigated agriculture, of the mine, of the forest, realizing as a man must, who sees San Francisco and that wonderful harbor that here is one of the cities which must in time now near do its full share in dominating the commerce of the world. (Applause.) I have enjoyed all of these sights; but most of all I have enjoyed seeing you, the men and women of California. (Applause.) That is what counts ultimately in any nation. We need of course the physical advantages, but they are useless if we have not got the men to take advantage of them. Constitution, laws,—they are good things, indispensable things, to have right, but you must have the men behind them or they will amount to but little. There are other nations with the same type of constitution, the same theoretical form of government as ours, and yet those other nations have failed where we have succeeded because the type of citizenship

was different. So here, the climate and soil would amount to nothing, if you did not have men and women of the right type to take advantage of them.

You here in California, who succeeded the pioneers, you have won your place by showing the qualities which we like to think of as typical of American citizens. If we of this great Republic are to continue in the future to rise level to our opportunities as our forefathers rose in the past, we must so rise by showing the traits which they showed. There is no patent recipe for making a good citizen any more than there is any patent recipe for making a successful man. Success will come in the long run to the man or the nation possessing the attributes that have conquered success from the days when we first have written records of the nations of mankind. If our people have courage, perseverance, self-restraint, self-mastery, will power and common sense—you need that always—we will win out. I said common sense; I think that there is only one quality worse than hardness of heart and that is softness of head. I want to see the average American citizen be in the future as he has been in the past, a decent man, doing no wrong, and on the other hand able to hold his own also; and just as I want to see with the average citizen, I want to see with the nation. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT DUNSMUIR, CALIFORNIA

MAY 20, 1903

MY FRIENDS:

It is a great pleasure to greet you today. I have enjoyed the last two hours traveling up by this beautiful river and getting my first glimpses of Shasta. It has been a very great pleasure to come here to this State beside the Pacific Ocean and see your people. I think I can say that I came to California a pretty good American, and I go away a better one. (Applause.) Glad though I have been to see your wonderful products, your plains and your mountains, your rivers, to see the great cities springing up, most of all have I enjoyed meeting the men and women to whom we owe what has been done with mine and railroad and lumbering camp and irrigated field, with the ranch and the counting-house, —the men and women who have made California what she is.

Almost everywhere I have been greeted by men who are veterans of the Civil War; or else by men who came here in the early pioneer days; and where that has not been the case I have met those who are their worthy successors, who are doing now the kind of work that is worth doing. I pity no man because he has to work. If he is worth his salt he will work. I envy the man who has a work worth doing and does it well; and surely no men alive are more worthy of admiration than those men to whom it is given to build up a giant commonwealth like this. It is the fact of doing the work well that counts, not the kind of work, as long as that work is honorable.

I speak to citizens of a community which has reached its present pitch of prosperity because they have done each his duty as his lines were laid. To the true American nothing can be more alien than the spirit either of envy or of contempt for another

who is leading a life as a decent citizen should lead it. In this country we have room for every honest man who spends his life in honest effort; we have no room either for the man of means who, in a spirit of arrogant baseness, looks down upon the man less well off, or for the other man who envies his neighbor because that neighbor happens to be better off. Either feeling is a base feeling, unworthy of a self-respecting man.

I used the word envy, myself, just now, but I did not use it in a bad sense. If you use envy in the ordinary sense of the word its existence implies a feeling of inferiority in the man who feels it, a feeling that a self-respecting man will be ashamed to have. If the man is a good American and is doing his work squarely he need not envy anybody, because he occupies a position such as no one else in any other country, in any other age has occupied; and because we hold our citizenship so high, because we feel and have the right to feel satisfaction with what our people have done, we should also feel that the only spirit in which to regard any other man who does well, is a spirit of kindly regard and good will if he acts squarely; if he does not, then I think but ill of you if you do not regard him as a man to feel at least the public scorn, public contempt. It is, of course, a perfectly trite saying that in no country is it so necessary to have decency, honesty, self-restraint, in the average citizen as in a republic, in a democracy; for successful self-government is founded upon that high average of citizenship among our people; and America has gone on as she has gone because we have had that high average of citizenship. Our government is based upon the rule of a self-respecting majority. Our government has so far escaped the twin dangers of the older republics, government by a plutocracy or government by a mob, either of them absolutely alien to American ideals.

It has been a great pleasure to see you. I haven't any special word of preaching to say, because after all, men and women of California, I can only preach what in substance you have practiced, what our people have practiced in the making and carrying

on of this government. From the days of Washington to the days of Lincoln we went onward and upward because the average American was of the stuff that made the nation go onward and upward. We cannot be dragged up, we have got to push ourselves up. No law that ever was devised can give wisdom to the fool, courage to the coward, strength to the weakling. We must have those qualities in us, for if they are not in us they cannot be gotten out of us. Of course all you have to do is to compare what other nations have done with governments founded as ours, the same type of constitution, the same type of law, which nevertheless have failed, have produced chaos because they did not have the right type of citizen back of the law, the right type of citizen to work out the destiny of the Nation under and through the law. Of course we need the right law; we need even more the honest and fearless enforcement of the law, enforcement in a spirit of absolute fair play to all men, showing favoritism to none, doing justice to each. We need such laws, such administration of the laws, but most of all we need to keep up that for the lack of which nothing else can atone in any people—the average standard of citizenship—so that the average man shall have certain fundamental qualities that come under many different heads, but under three especially. In the first place, that he shall have at the foundation of his character the moral forces, the forces that make a man a good husband, a good father, a good neighbor, a man who deals fairly by his fellows, whether he works with them on the railroad or in the shops or in the factories, whether he deals with them as a mechanic, as a lawyer, as a doctor, whether he grows the products of the soil as an earth-tiller, a miner, a lumberman, a sailor, whatever he is, whatever his wealth, if he acts squarely he has fulfilled the first requisites of citizenship. We cannot afford in our Republic to draw distinctions between our citizens save on that line of conduct. There are good men and bad men everywhere. All of you know them in private life; all of you have met them. You have got to have decency and morality in the first place, and, of course,

that is not enough. It does not begin to be enough. No matter how decent a man is, if he is afraid he is no good. In addition to the quality of self-mastery, self-restraint, decency, you have got to have the quality of hardihood, courage, manliness, the quality which, if the people who founded this State had lacked, there never would have been a State founded here. You have got to have the men who can hold their own in work, and, if necessary, in fighting. You have got to have those qualities in addition, and you have got to have others still. I do not care how brave a man is and how decent he is, if he is a natural born fool you can do very little with him. In addition to decency, in addition to courage, you must have the saving grace of common sense; the quality that enables any man to tell what he can do for himself and what he can do for his neighbor, for the nation. Sometimes each of us has the feeling that if he has to choose between the fool and the knave he will take the knave, because he can reform him perhaps, and he cannot reform the fool; and even hardness of heart is not much more destructive in the long run than softness of head.

In our life what we need is not so much genius, not so much brilliancy, as the ordinary commonplace everyday qualities which a man needs in private life, and which he needs just as much in public life.

In coming across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the thing that has struck me most is that, fundamentally, wherever one goes in this broad country, a good American is a good American. (Applause.)

I thank you with all my heart for coming here, and I wish you all good fortune in the future as in the past. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT SISSON, CALIFORNIA

MAY 20, 1903

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is indeed a great pleasure to have had the chance of going through your wonderful State; now I have come to the people who live among the mountains in the north; I come among the pine forests, and in sight of the great mountains. I hardly think that you yourselves can realize what a wonderful State it is, a State as large and as diversified as many an Old World empire. It is a great pleasure to have come here to see this wonderful State with its change from the semi-tropic, irrigated plains of the south, here to the northern mountains, a State situated between the Sierras and the Pacific; and especially I have enjoyed meeting the people who have made the State what it is. Wherever I have been I have seen in the audiences, men who wear the button which shows that they fought in the great Civil War; and it seems to me that the qualities which made those men victorious in the mortal strife of the Republic are akin to the qualities which made our people able to conquer plain and mountain, prairie and forest, and to create these commonwealths from the Atlantic seaboard across to the Pacific. (Applause.)

I am glad to meet all of you. I congratulate you upon all the crops, but especially upon the children. I spoke of the soldiers of the great Civil War just now, and of your pioneer people; each was required to show the characteristics which have to be shown also in civil life if this Republic is to be made all that it should be made. In '61, when you and those like you went to battle, the first feeling that you had to have was the capacity for devotion to a lofty ideal, the spirit that made ease, comfort, safety, as nothing compared with the desire to keep the flag and to ring

true when the country called. In addition to that you had to have courage, hardihood, resolution, or you could not have made your aspirations good. It is just so in civil life, and the man has to be a decent man, a square man, a man who acts square by his neighbors, fairly by the State, or he cannot amount to anything; but in addition to the qualities of decency and fair dealing he must have the qualities that make a man a man, or he cannot do a man's work in the world. He has to have hardihood, courage and endurance. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT MONTAGUE, CALIFORNIA

MAY 20, 1903

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is a great pleasure to meet you this afternoon. I have enjoyed to the full my trip through California. I have come from the south through the State and now go out at the north. When the trip was made up I asked why it was necessary to give relatively four times as much time to California as to any other State. I understand now. (Applause.) I only wish it had been possible to make it eight times as much instead. This morning I have been greatly impressed in traveling through these mountains and meeting the men who have done so much in lumbering, as I have already met the men of the mines, and ranches, of the commerce and industries of the great cities. This State is in boundaries and resources greater than many an Old World empire; and think what it is to be a citizen of a Union in which a commonwealth like this is a State. I have come from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the East through the West to beyond the west to California, for that stands by itself. (Applause.) The thing that has impressed me more than anything else in addressing the different audiences is that a good American is a good American in whatever part of this country he lives. (Cheers and applause.)

REMARKS AT HORNBROOK, CALIFORNIA

MAY 20, 1903

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I have just said good-bye to the Governor of California, and I am very, very sorry to part with him. He has been with me throughout my trip in California, and I have gone pretty fairly over the State with him. Today I have been traveling through the northern part of California, among the mountains and the forests, and it has given me an ever fresh view of your wonderful and beautiful State. As I have said more than once since entering your State, I knew as no one knows by reading and by hearing people talk of all the resources that it had, but I could not fully realize them until I had seen them. Going through California, I have been struck with the prosperous and contented look of its people, and of course you are contented; I should be ashamed of you if you were not (applause), living in such a State as this. And glad though I have been to see your soil and climate, to see your products, the products of your fields, and mines and woods, what you have done with railroads, with transportation companies on the water, with factories, with industries of every kind, what I have been most pleased with after all has been the way in which you are training the citizenship of the future, the attention paid to the schools of every grade here in this State; and above all with the type of men and women and children whom it has been my good fortune to encounter. The essential thing in any State is the character of the average man or woman, and I am proud to be your fellow-citizen, and to have men the type of people I have met in California. (Cheers and applause.)

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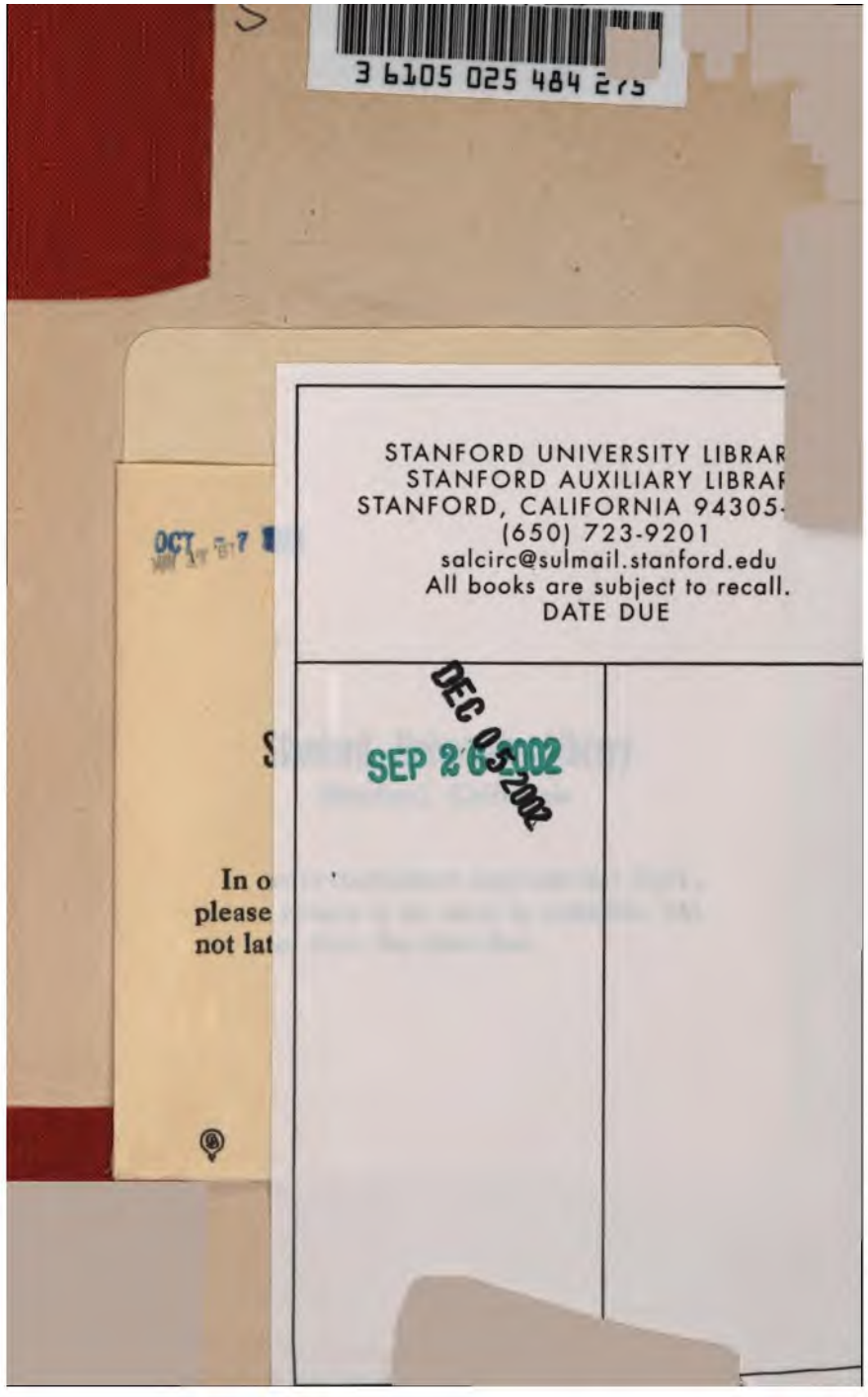
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